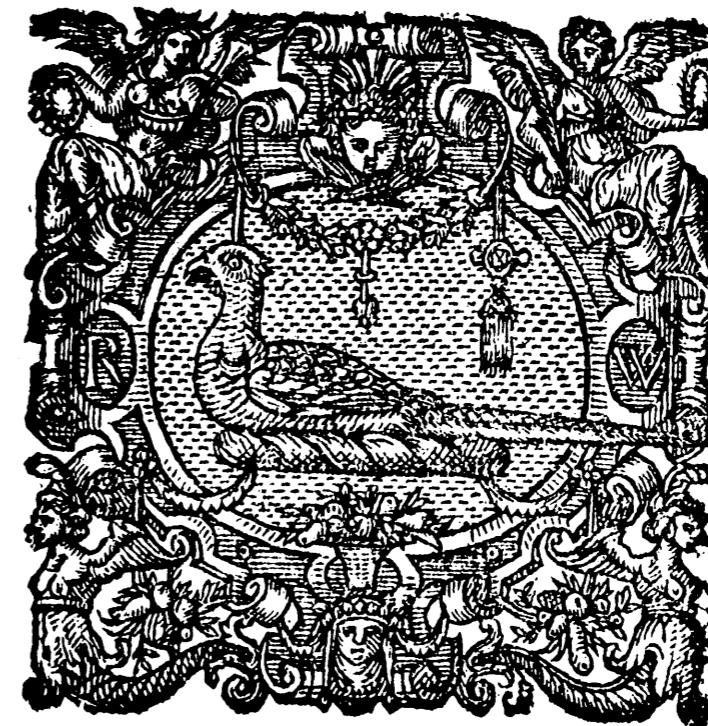


THE HISTORIE
of Quintus Cur-
tius, conteining the actes
of the great Alexander, translated
out of Latin into Englishe
by John Brende,
(::)



In ædibus Rogeri Warde.

Anno Domini,
1584.

1 2 3 4
INCHES

TO THE RIGH HIGH
AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, JOHN
Duke of Northumberland, Earle marshall of
England, &c. JOHN BRENDE wi-
sheth continuall prosperitic, with
encrease of honour.



Any have writte, and
experience besides decla-
reth, how necessary His-
toricall knowledge is to
all kinde of men, but spe-
cially to Princes and to
others whiche excell in
dignity or beare authori-
ty in any common weale:
the same being counted
the most excellent kind of
knowledge, the chieffest
part of ciuill prudence, and the mirrour of mans lyfe.
There is required in all magistrates both a faith and
feare in God, and also an outward policy in worldly
thinges, whereof as the one is to be learned by the
Scriptures, so the other must chiefly be gathered by
reading of Histories. For in them men may see the
groundes & beginninges of common wealthes, the cau-
ses of their increase, of their prosperous maintenance,
and good preseruation, and againe by what meanes
they decreased, decayed, and came to ruine. There the
vertues and vices of men doe appeare, howe by theyz
good doinges they florished, and by their euill actes
they decayed. Howe they prospered so long, as they
maintained iustice, persecuted vice, vsed clemency and
mercy, were liberall, religious, vertuous, and boyd of
courteousnesse: And contrariwise how they fell to ma-
nifold calamities, miseries, and troubles, when they
embraced vice, and forsooke vertue. In histories it is
apparant how dangerous it is to begin alterations in
P. 15. a som.

The preface.

a common wealth. Howe evirie, and hatredes oft rising
Upon small causes, haue bane the destruction of greate
kingdomes. And the disobeyers of higher powers, and
such as rebelled against magistrates, never escaped pu-
nishment, nor came to good ende. In them there be pre-
sidents for all cascs that may happen, in folowing the
goods, in eschewing the euill, in avoiding inconueniences,
and in foreseing mischiefs. In them may bee learned
how to temper in prosperitie, howe to endare in adver-
site, and after what maner men shold vse themselves,
both in time of peace and warre. As in all artes there
be certaine principles and rules for men to folowe, so
in histories there bee ensamples painted out of ali kind
of vertues, wherin both the dignitie of vertue & fow-
nes of vice appeareth much more liuely then in any mo-
rall teaching: there being expreſſed by waye of exam-
ple, all that Philosophie teacheth by waye of precepts.
This is such a kunde of knowledge, as maketh menne
ape cuen with small experience either to gouerne in
publike matters, or in their owne private affaires: For
by comparing thinges past with thinges present, men
may easily gather what is to be folowed, and what is
to bee eschewed. And he which can reade them wþt
such iudgement, weighing the tyme with the causes
and occasion: of thinges, shall both see most deepe in
all matters, best declare his opinion, and winne most
estimation of prudence and wisedeme. For if aged
men bee esteemed for the wisest by reason of their expe-
rience: Or if Homer painted saþth in the person of
Ulysses the Image of a perfcte wise man: imputing
the cause thereto to the knowledge he had gathered by
trauailing many countreyes, and by viewing and mar-
king the customs and maners of diuers nations: Then
such as bee well expert in histories, and by the well
applyinge of them, can take the due fruite perteining
to the same: muste no des obteyne profoundnesse of
iudgement, with a stable and grounded wisedome.
For in them men may beholde as it were before their
eyes, both the whole worlde, and the gouernement
thereof, with the policies, and Lawes, the Discipline,
customes, and manners of all people from the begin-
ning.

This

The Preface.

This is such a thing, that whosoever is clearely boid
of it, though he be endued with neuer so great witte o-
therwise, with such aptnes of nature, or other goodly
vertues: Yet when he shall haue to do in weightie af-
fares, he shall finde a certaine maime and imperfctio-
n only in ciuell gouernment, but also in matters per-
taining to the warre.

For although in an excellent Capitaine nature must
gine the chiefeſt partes, that is to ſay, hardines, stout-
nes of ſtomacke, with a naturall wifdome and under-
ſtanding (by which qualities onely (experience there-
unto adioined) diuers haue become famous capitaines).
Yet this is a thing that giueth a greater policie, groun-
deth a dixer judgement, addeth a further ornamēt &
glorie, and fourmeth a perfectnes and an excellencie in
a ſhorter ſpace.

The ſhortnes of a mans life ſhortened beides by ſo
manie casualties, is the caule that men be taken awaye
before they can geue ſuch an actuall experience as may
make them perfecte, and commonly become rotten, be-
fore they can attaine to a ripenesſe in knowledge. But
by this kunde of learning in youth a man is become a-
ged, he hath knowledge without experience, he is wile
before it is looked for, hee is become a Counſailour
the firſt youte, and a man of warre the firſt daye.

The ſame thing hath bene veriſed in many, whiche
in young age haue bene prudent Counſellers, and in
ſmall experience politique Capitaines. Alexander here
of Macedon example, who brought vp vnder Ari-
ſtotle in learning, and ſo giuen to this kunde of ſtudie,
that he had Homer alwaies layde vnder his beddes head,
(wheteby he might be admoniſhed of the vertues and
office of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdome
when he was but twentie yeeres o' age: and neuerthe-
leſt bothe ſtablished his owne estate with ſuche pru-
dence, that within ſhorte ſpace (besides the enlarging
of his owne boundes) he subdued the greatest parte of
the world. And albeit he began ſi young, and continu-
ed ſo ſmall tyme: yet no mans actes bee comparable to
his: beeing counted the moſte excellent Capitayne
from the beginning. But if any man will impute the

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great-

The preface.

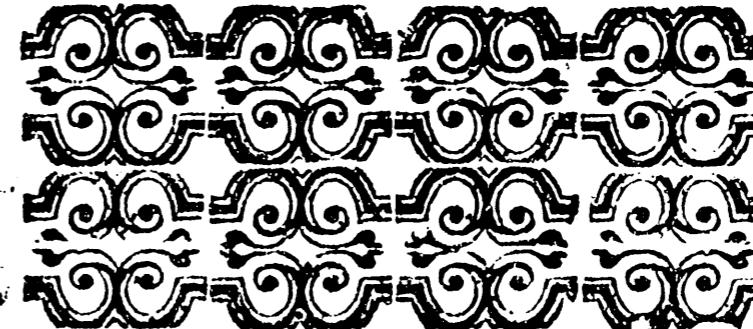
greatnesse of his dainges to the perfect discipline the
Macedones vsed in the warres, and to the politicke
Captaine, and expert souldiers, left to him by his fa-
ther Philip: it shall appere evidently by the decay of
realmes when they haue bene gouerned by imprudent
Princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaines re-
tained when they were conducted by cuill Captaynes,
that no prudence of counsellours can take place, nor a-
ny discipline or experiance of the souldiers can auayle,
if the head be not a man of excellent vertue. There is
nothing new vnder the sunne (as the wise man saith)
and it is impossible for any thing to chaunce eyther
in the warre or in common pollicie, but that the lyke
may be founde to haue chanced in times past. All
which thinges layd vp in memory, as in place of storie:
men may alwaies be furnished for all chaunces that
may occurre. Seeing histories be then so good and ne-
cessarie, it were muche requisite for mens instruction,
that they were translated into suche tongues as most
men might understand them: and specially the histo-
ries of antiquitie, whiche both for the greatnessse of the
actes done in those daies, and for the excellency of the
writters, haue much maiestie and many ensamples of
vertue. I therefore hauing alwaies desired that we
Englysshen men might be found as forwarde in that be-
halfe as other nations, whiche haue brought all wort-
thy histories into their naturall language, did (a fewe
yeares past) attempt the translatiō of Quintus Curtius,
and lately (vpon an occasion) performed and accom-
plished the same. Whiche Aucthour treating of the
acts of the great Alexander, being figured in the Pro-
phetez, Icremie and Daniell, and mentioned in the
first book of the Machabiez, seeme to haue bene borne,
and brought forth into the worlde, not without a most
speciall prouidence and predestination of God: who
prospered so his proceedinges that (as Justine wri-
teth) he neuer encountered with any enemis whome
he overcame not, he besieged no Citie that he wan not,
nor assailed nation that he subdued not. This so wort-
thy a matter I thought good to dedicate unto your
Grace, following their example that haue trauelled in
the like study, which are wont to declare their good

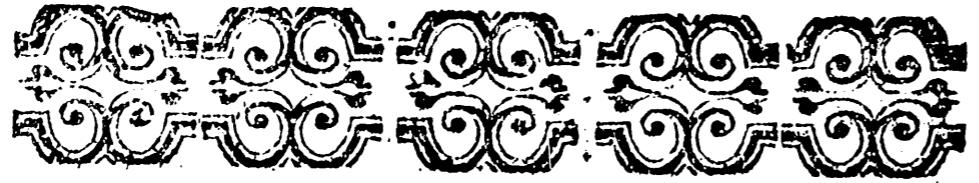
Willeg,

The Preface.

Willeg, by bestowing of their labours.

Thereunto I was also moued the rather, by con-
sidering the qualities of your Grace, whiche seeme to
haue certaine affinitie and resemblaunce with such as
were the verie vertues in Alexander. For Arianus
writeth of him that he was of a seemely stature, bolde
in his enterpryses, stout of stomacke, moderate in plea-
sures, wise in counsaile, & prouident to foresee thinges,
that he was excellent in conducting of an armie, maste
politique in ordering his battailes, that he could encou-
rage his souldiers with apt wordes, and when neede
required take part of their perill. What partes of this
be in your grace, let them iudge that haue known your
actes in the warres, and your excellent seruice done,
both in the time of the Kinges maiestie that nowe is,
and also in his fathers daies of mooste famous memo-
rie. Although in doing hereof I haue not peraduen-
ture satisfied all mens expectacions: yet my truste is,
that your Grace will accept the same in good part, and
consider that in a translation a man cannot alwaies vse
his owne beyne, but shall bee compelled to tread in
the Authoress steppes, whiche is harder, and
a more difficult thing to do, then
Walke his owne
pace.




THE FIRST BOOKE OF QVIN-
 tus Curtius supplyed of the Actes of the
 great Alexander, King of Ma-
 cedon.

ALEXANDER of Macedon, which by subduing of Greece, did firste bring his Countrey in reputacion, was the sonne of Amyntas: a man endued with wisdome, hardinesse, and all other vertues of a noble Capitaine. The same Amyntas had by Paristee his wife thre sonnes: Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, who was the Father of great Alexander: with a Daughter also called Euridice. The Queene Euridice beeing in amours with one that had married her Daugther, conspired the death of the King her husband to the intent to haue married with her sonne in Lawe, and to make him King: which thing she had brought to effecte, had not the treason, and whoredome of the mother, beeene opened by the daughter in time. After the death of Amyntas, Alexander the eldest sonne enjoyed his Fathers kingdome: which in the beginning of his raigne was so assailed on all sides, that he was driven by force to purchase peace of the Illyrians with money, by giving his brother Philip in hostage. And afterwardes by the same pledge

pledge, made a like peace with the Thebans, beeing the occasion that Philip did attaine to such excellencie of knowledge & wisdom. For by reason that hee was committed to the custode of Epaminundas, who was a valiaunt Capitaine, and an excellent Philosopher, hee was brought vp in the trade of honeste Disciplines, and princely maners, greatlie profiting vnder a Philosopher of Pythagoras schoole, whome Epamynundas kept in his house for the instruction of his Sonne. In the meane season Alexander was slayne by the meanes of Euridice hys mother, whose former treason King Amyntas her Husbande had pardoned in respecte of the Children had betwene them, little thinking that she would afterwards haue binne their destruction. For when Alexander was deade, shee caused in lyke maner her other sonne Perdiccas to bee slaine: whiche Perdiccas left behinde him one Sonne beeing a young babe. About the same time Philip the youngest brother, beeing by good hap escaped out of Prison, returned into Macedonia, and not taking vpon him the name of King, remained a great while no otherwise but as Gouvernour or Tutor to his young nephew. Meuertheleisse, afterwardes by occasion of sundrie mischiefes growing in the state, the same beeing such as might not wel hang till the yong King shoulde come to his age: for that he appeared to bee a man of singular activitie, and of no lesse skil in feats of warre, then in knowledge of

Philo,

Philosophie, was compelled by the people to take vpon him to be king of Macedon, which as then stode in harde plight, and great daunger of ruine. This was done 400. yeeres after the building of Rome, and the 105. Olympiade. In the beginning of his raigne he was combred with infinite troubles: for all the countreys neere about (as it were by a generall conspiracie) mooved warre against him, and at one time sundrie nations swarmed togither out of sundrie partes to ouercome his kingdome. Wherefore considering that it stode him vpon to worke warily, (not beeing able to match them all at once) pacified some with faire promises, other with money, and the weakest he withstode with force. By that meanes hee both made his enemies afraide, and confirmed the hearts of his people, whitch he founde discouraged, and soze amased. These thinges hee wrought with great sleight and finenesse of witte in such sorte that he ministred not anie part of his honour, estate, or reputation, determining nevertheles as time should serue, to deale with euerie one aparte. His first warre was with the Athenians, whome hee ouercame by sleight and policie. And where it laye in his power to haue put them all to the sworde, hee set them all at libertie without raunsome. By which point of clemencie (though it was but counterfeit, beeing done for feare of a greater warre at hand, yet it got him great good will, and estimation vniuersally). After that hee subdued

subdued the Peons, and from thence turned his power against the Illirians, of whome he slew manie thousandes, and wan the noble Cittie of Larissa. That done hee mooved warre against the Thessalians, not for anie desire of their goods or spoile of their country, but of a policie to adde to his strength the force of their horsemen, which at those daies were counted the cheefest of the world. This his purpose he brought wel to passe for being sodenly assailed, they were soon broght to subiection. So Philip toined the force of their horsemen unto his foemen, whereby he made his power invincible. After all these things happily brought to passe, he tooke to wife Olympias, one of the daughters of Neoptolemus King of the Molossians. That marriage was concluded by the meanes of Arisba, who had the government of Olympias, by marrying of her other sister called Troada. This marriage which he thought to haue made for his suertie, turned afterwardes to his subuersion. For thinking to haue made himselfe strонge by the affinitie of Philip, hee was at length by him deprived of the whole kingdome, and ended his life misera-bly in exile. Not long after this marriage, King Philip dreamid that hee sawe his Wyues wombe wonderfullie swollen, and to hys see-ming a lively Image of a Lyon therevpon: by which dreame the Diviners, and dicame readers did interprete that his Wyfe was conceiued of a childe, that shoulde bee of a Lyons heart and

The first booke supplyed

and courage : which interpretation pleased him much . Afterwardes at the assault of a Cittie called Methron, by shotte of an arrowe hee losse his righte eye . Whereof , though the displeasure was great , yet was he contente vpon their submission to take them to mercie . He swanne also the Cittie of Pagus , and annexed the same unto his kingdome . He invaded the lande of the Triballes , and at one instant conquered it , with all the countreys thereabout .

Thus hauing made his kingdome strong by subduing his neigboures : at his retурne home his wife Olympias was deliuered of his sonne Alexander the 8. day of Aprill . Of these god fortunes the king reioised no lesse then reason was hauing established his countrey at home , subdued his enemis abroade , and gotten an heire to succede in his kingdome . He could haue desired no more of God , if the minde of man coulde euer bee satisfied , which the more it hath , the more it coveteþ . As dominion increaseth , so dooth also the desire to haue more : which was well seene in Philip , that still did compasse howe to golde greate by taking from his neigboures ; and laye altuaies lyke a spy , awayking tymes and occasion , & hōw to catch from euerie man . Whereunto hee had occasion ministered by the Citties of Grece : for whiles one did couet to subdue an other , and through ambition were at strife who shoulde bee chiefe , by one and one he brought them al at length to subjection , perswasing

of Quintus Curtius.

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ding the smaller states to moue warre against the greater , and to serue his purpose , contrayued the wayes to sette them altogether by the Carez . But at length when his practises were perceived , diuers Citties fearing his increase , confederated against him as their common enemie , but chiefly the Thebans . Preuerthelesse in necessitie when they were driven to wage men of warre , they chose him to bee their generall Capitaine against the Lacedemonians , and the Phoceans , which had spoyled the Temple of Apollo . This warre he honorably atchieued so that by punishing of their sacrilege , he gotte himselfe great honour in all those partes . But in the ende espyng eyther of those Countreyes to bee brought lowe with the Warre , he found the meanes to subdue both the one and the other compelling as well the euercommers , as the ouercome to bee his tributaries and Subjectes . Then made hee a voyage into Cappadocia , where killing , and taking prisoners all the principales thereaboutes , reduced the whole Province to the subiectiōn of Macedon . Hee conquerēd Olynthus , and within a while put his foote in Thrace . For where the two Kings of that countrey were at variaunce about the limits of their kingdomes , and chose him to be their arbitrer , he gladly tooke it vpon him . But at the daye appoynted for the Judgement , hee came not thyther lyke a Judge with a Counsell , but lyke a warriour with an Arme , and so parte-

the

The first booke supplyed.

the strife, expulsed both the parties from their kingdoms. By this time young Alexander was twelve yeres of age, and began to take great delight in the feates of warre, shewing most manifest signes of a noble heart and Princely courage. He was very swifte of foot, & one day at a sompne game of running called Olimpiacum, being demanded by some of his companions if he would runne a race with them: gladly (quoth he) if heere were Kinges sonnes to runne with all. An other time when certaine Embassadors of the Persians came into Macedon, Alexander which in his Fathers absence tooke vpon him their entertainment, and deuising with them of diuers thinges, in all his communication there never passed from him one childe or vaine woorde, but either inquired the state of their countrie, the maners of the people, the distance of the waies, the power of their King, or the order of his warres, with such other like. So that the Embassadors having meruaile therat, esteemed the profe of the Father to bee much lesse, then the towardnes of the sonne, & that his courage was much more then was to be looked for in one of his yeres. As often as tidings came that the King his Father had wonne any strong or riche towne, or obtained any notable victorie: he never seemed greatly ioyfull, but would say to his playfellowes: My Father dooth so many great actes, that hee will leau no occasion of any notable thing for vs to do together. Such were his wordes,

of Quintus Curtius.

Fol. 3

words, such was his talke: whereby it was easie to conjecture what a man hee woulde after prooue in age, which so began in youth. His delight was not sette in anie kinde of pleasure, or greedines of gaine, but in the onely exercise of vertue, and desire of honour. The more authorisatie that hee received of his Father, the lesse hee woulde seeme to beare. And although by the great increase of his fathers dominion, it seemed that he should haue the lesse occasion of warres, yet he did not set his delight in vain pleasure, or heaping vp of treasure, but sought all the means he coulde, to vse martiall feates, and exercises of warre: coveting such a kingdome, wherein for his vertue and prowes, he might purchase fame and immortalitie. That hope never deceived Alexander, nor any other, when it happeneth in a man of vertue and noble heart, that hath wil or occasion to put anie thing in vre. The charge and gouernance of this young Prince was committed to sundrie excellent Maisters and gouernours, but chiefly to the great Philosopher Aristotle, whose vertue, learning, and knowledge, King Philip so much esteemed, that hee would often saye: Hee tooke no greater comforde in the birth of his sonne, then that he was prouided of such a maister for him as Aristotle, vnder whose tuition he remained ten yeres. Many thinges there chaunced besides, whereby it was conjectured, that Alexander shoulde prooue a man of great valour. For when his Father sent to Delphos

The first booke supplyed.

phos to receive aunswere of þ Gods who shoulde
be his successour, the Oracle was giuen: that
such a one shoulde not onely succeede him, but also
so be Lorde of the worlde, whome Bucephalus
would suffer to sitte on his backe. This Buce-
phalus was a passing faire horse, fierce, and full
of courage, which Philip had bought of a Thes-
salian for thirteene talentes, and because of his
fiercenes, kept him within a brake of Iron bars,
yet for all that he remained so fell and wood, that
none durst come neare to dresse him. Whereof
the King was so wearie, that he sought meanes
to be ridde of the horse. It fortuned that Alexan-
der came one day with his Father unto the sta-
ble. What a horse (quoth he) is marred heere for
lacke of god handling, and with that came more
neare, and without any great difficultie gat vp
his backe, and vsing both the spurre and the rod
to the bstermost, ranne and managed him so vp
and downe, that the horse abode it verie well.
And hauing ridden his fill, brought backe the
horse againe. As he alighted, the King for ioy im-
braced and kissed him, & with teares in his eyes
saide: O sonne, seke some other kingdom meet
for the greatness of thy heart, for Macedon can-
not suffise thee. So that eu'en then the foreseeing
Father did full well perceiue all his possessions
farre insufficient for his sonnes heart. After this
king Philip determined to make warre against
all Greece, for the maaintenance whereof hee
thought it great aduaantage if hee might firsse

winne

of Quintus Curtius.

5

winne Byzantium, a famous Cittie on the Sea
coast. Wherefore committing the charge and go-
vernment of his realme to his sonne being then
þv.yeres of age, laide siege to the towne, which
made him great resistance. When he had consu-
med all his riches and treasure about the siege,
he was driven to so narrowe shifte, that to fur-
nish himselfe of money, hee became a Pyrate,
and roued on the Sea, where he tooke 170. ships
the spoile whereof hee departed among his soul-
diers. And least his whole armie should be detei-
ned about the siege of that one Cittie, hee sorted
out the most chosen bands of all his souldiours,
and went into Chersonesus, where he tooke and
put to sacke many notable townes. Because his
sonne Alexander was then about 18.yeres old,
and had shewed evident prooffe of his vertue and
manhoode in all his attempts: his Father sente
for hym thither, to the intente hee might in his
warres learne and exercise all feates belonging
to a souldiour, and with him made a voyage into
Scythia, vpon none other quarrell, but to spoyle
the countrey. Thus vsing the practise of Mer-
chauntes, with the gaine of one warre, hee bare
out the charges of another. After he had brought
the countrey in subiection, because no riches of
golde nor siluer was to bee gotten, hee brought
from thence xx. M. of men, women, and children,
besides a great multitude of cattaille, with xx. M
choise mares to make a race in Macedon. In his
returne he was encountred with the Triballes,

W.h. which

which denied him passage, except they might haue part of his bootie. Whereupon debating of the matter, from wordes they fell to fighting, whereat King Philip was so wounded in hys thigh, that the violence of the stroke ran through the bodie of his horse, whereof all men iudging him to be slaine, the bootie was thereby lost. As soone as he was recovered of this hurte, his long dissembled grudge against the Athenians brast out so farre forth, that he made open warre vp on them. By reason wherof the Thebans seeing the fire so neare at hande, gaue succour to their neighbours, fearing least if the Athenians were overcome, the end of the warres shuld turne upon them. Wherefore the Cities that a little before were mostall enemies one to another, confederated togither in one league, & sente their Embassadores through all Greece, persuading it to be most meete with a common aide, to withstand a common enemy. Some considering the perill to bee uniuersall, stacke to the Athenians. And some fearing Philips power increasing, and the others decaying, tooke parte with him. In this warre Alexander had the charge of one of the battailes committed to him, wherein his noble hart and courage did well appeare, specially when it came to the stroke of the fight, for there he acquited himselfe so valiauntly, that he seemed not inferiour to his father, nor to anie man els, but by most iust desert got the honor of victorie. Yet he was defrauded therof by the en-

ny

ny & sleight of his father, as he himselfe complained after wardes. This battaile was fought at Cherony, wherein though the Athenians were the greater number, yet were they ouercome by the Macedons being the fewer, but yet expert souldiours, by reason of their long and continual practise in warres: neuerthelesse the Athenians as men not vnmindfull of their former honour, spent their liues valiantly. That day made an end of all the Grekes glory, as wel of their large rule and gouernment, as of their most auncient freedome and liberty, which being hardly wone, and long tyme kept, was thus lost in a moment. For these and many other experimenteres of the valour and prowes in yong Alexander, although the king his father did alwayes beare him singular affection and fauour, yet neuerthelesse by certaine occasions ensuing, it was unhappily broken. For Philip being married to Olympias, mother of Alexander (as is said before) tooke to wife besides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell great discord and vnkindnesse betwene the father and the sonne. The occasion was given by one Attalus uncle of Cleopatra, who beyng at the new mariage, exhorted the multitude to make prayers to the goddes to sende betwene the King and the new Queene a lawfull heire to succeede in the kingdome of Macedon. Whereat Alexander beyng moued: Thou naughty vilaine (quoth he) doest thou count me a bastard? And with that worde flang the cup at his head.

W.J.

The

The first booke supplied.

The King hearing this rose vp , and wyth his sworde drawne ran at his sonne, who by swar-
uing with his bodie, auoided the stroke, so that it
did no harme. Here vpon Alexander with many
scut and despightfull words, departed from his
father, and went with his mother into Epirus.
Neuerthelesse sone after, by the meaues of one
Demoratus a Corinthian, who perswaded the
King that this discorde was nothing for his ho-
nour, Alexander was sent for againe, and much
labour and great meanes was made before they
could be well reconciled. Wherfore to confirme
this attonement there was a mariage made be-
twene Alexander the brother of Olympiades
(whome Philip by the expulsion of Arisba had
made King of Epirus) and Cleopatra the newe
Queenes daughter. The tryumph of that daye
was notable, according to the state and magni-
ficence of such two Princes, the one bestowing
his daughter , and the other marrying a wife.
There were set forth sundrie notable playes,
and deuises pleasant to beholde . And as King
Philip (betwene the two Alexanders, the one
his naturall sonne, and the other his son in law)
was passing through the prease without anye
garde : one Pausanias a young man of the No-
bilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected anye
such thing, sodainly slewe him starke deade, ma-
king that day which was appointed to ioye and
triumph, lamentable and dolorous by the death
of such a Prince. This Pausanias beeing a boy
was

of Quintus Curtius.

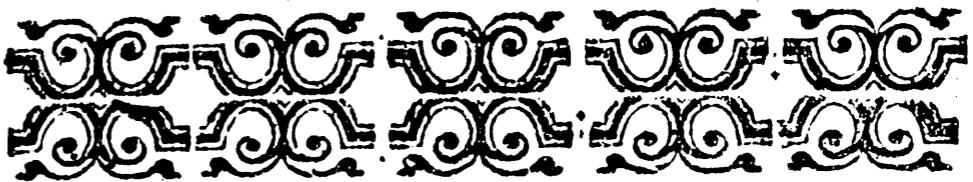
was enforced by Attalus to the unnaturall vse
of his bodie, which not content to do so himselfe,
at an other open banquet, caused diuers of his fa-
miliars to abuse him likewise . Which shame &
villanie greued the young man so sore that hee
complained to the King , whome although the
dishonestie of the matter moued much , yet for
the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respecte
of his seruice, forbare to vse anie reformation in
the matter. This Attalus was verie neere unto
the King, and in special fauour, by reason he was
kinsman to the Queene Cleopatra, whom Phi-
lip had last married : Hee was also elected gene-
rall Capitaine of the Kinges armie, prepared to
passe into Asia , as one that was both valiant of
his person, and no lesse politique in the seates of
warre. Upon these respects the King endeououred
by all the meanes he could , to pacifie Pausani-
as (being kindled with most iust cause of griefe)
as well by giuing him great giftes & promotion
as placing him honourably amongst those Gen-
tlemen that were for the gard of his person. But
all this could not appease the iuste rage of his
ire, which wrought so in him, that he determi-
ned to be reuenged, not only vpon Attalus that
did the villanie , but also vpon the King that
would not minister iustice. Which determina-
tion he put in effecte, as is saide before . Manye
thinges might be saide more of the doinges and
sayings of this Philip but one thing aboue other
is to bee noted, that althoough for the more parte

W.ij.

he

The first booke supplied

he was occupied in the turmoile of the warres,
and other like busines: yet had he euer such af-
fection to the studies of humanitie and good lear-
ning, that he both did, & spake, many thinges
worthy memory, which were both wittie
and pleasant. He liued seuen and four-
tie yéeres, and reigned xxv. being
the xxij. king of the Mace-
dones, as they reigned
ned in order.



THE SECOND BOOKE OF QVIN-

tus Curtius supplyed of the Actes of the
great Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Hen Philip was dead, his sonne
which for the greatnesse of his
actes was afterwards called the
great Alexander, tooke vpon him
the kingdome the 426. yéere af-
ter the building of Rome, beyng
of the age of xx.yéeres. His state stode at þ tyme
subiect to much enuy and hatred, and hazard frō
all partes. For the nations and prouinces borde-
ring vpon him, could not wel beare their present
bondage, and euery one of them sought how to
recouer againe their auncient dominion and in-
heritance. The first thing he attempted after he
was king, was the grieuous execution vpon so
many as had conspired his fathers death: which
done, hee celebrated his funerals with great
pompe. Concerning his estate hee sone establis-
hed it, and that much better then any man
could haue imagined, in one of so young and
tender yéeres: for beyng of some had in con-
tempt, and of some suspected to bee cruell,
towardes the one hee bare himselfe so stoutely
that he tooke from them all contempt, and to
the other so gently, that their imagined feare
of his cruell disposition was cleane taken away.

W. iiij.

¶

He graunted vnto the Macedons frēdome, and priuledge , from all exactions and bondage, sauing from the bondage of warre : by which acte he got so great fauour and loue amongst his peopple, that al affirmed by one consent, how the person of the King was chaunged, and not his vertue,his name was altered , but not his good government . In the beginning of his raigne, rebellion was made against him on all sides , but he by and by with an incredible stoutnes and cōstancie of minde, staid all their tumultes. That matter pacified and set in order, he went to Corinthus in Peloponese , where calling a generall Councell of all the states of Grece, was elected their generall Capitaine against the Persians, which brfore time had afflicted Grece with manie plagues, & at that present possessed the greatest Empire in the world. His Father had purposed that warre before, but the preuention of death was the cause he brought not his purpose to passe. Whiles he was in preparation of this enterprize, he was enformed how the Athenians, the Thebans, & the Lacedemonians were revolted from him, and confederate with the Persians, and all by meanes of an Oratour called Demosthenes, which was corrupted by the with a great summe of money. For the reformation wherof Alexander so sodainly had prepared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could scarcely beleue he shoulde be present, of whose comming they had not heard before. In

his

his way he practised with the Thessalians, and vsed to them such gentle wordes and apte persuasions by putting them in remembraunce of his fathers benefites, and of the auncient kinred betwene them, by their discent from Hercules: that he brought them to the point, by an vniersall decree of the whole countrey, to bee created their Gouernour. So great was the celeritie that this yong man vsed, and his diligence so effectuall in all his doings, that he made all such feare him, as before were revolted, and regarded him little. As the Athenians were the first that failed, so they first of all repented, extolling with praises Alexanders childhood, which before they had despised, aboue the vertue of the auncient conquerours. They also sent embassadours to require of him peace, whoni, he soze rebuked when they came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remit their offence. And although Demosthenes was chosen one of y emballadours, yet he came not in his sight, but in his way returned againe to Athens. Which his doing was either for feare that he had so often railed against Philip, and stirred the Athenians against him, or els to take away the suspition of himselfe from the king of Persia, of whom (it was sayde) he had received a great summe of gold to stand against the Macedons. The same thing was laid against him by Aeschines in an Oration wherof he saith: presently the kinges gold doth beare his charges, but that cannot last him

hun long, seeing no riches can suffice his prodigall living. When Alexander had pacified those sturres that were begun in Greece, before hee would passe his army into Asia, he made a iourney against the Peones, the Tribals, & Thyllitians, because he vnderstoode they were conspiring togither. And for that they bordered vpon his countrey, and were woon to inuade hym same vpō every occasion, thought to set stay amongst them, before he would remoue his power so far off. From the citie of Amphipolis therefore he set forwardes against the Thracians, which at that tyme were not vnder the rule or law of any man. In ten dayes he came to the mount of Hemus, in the top wherof he found them encamped, with a power to resist his passage. In stead of trenches they had impaled themselues with their carriages crosse the streightes, purposing there to withstand him. And if they should be inuaded by any other way then by the streightes, they did determine to roule their carriages down the hil vpon the Macedons, to breake their array. That deuice was put in execution, but the souldiers had received before instructions by Alexander, as occasion shoulde serue either to open their array, to let the cartes and wheeles passe through them, or els to fall flat vpon the ground, and by couering their bodies with their targets, auoyd the danger. They used the matter according to their instructions, and whē the cartes were passed by, they with a courage and cry mountēd vp against

against their enemies, and in a moment put the to flight. When Alexander was passed y moun-
taine, he entered into the countrey of the Tribals as farre as the riuier of Ligeus. When Sir-
mus king of that land vnderstoode of his com-
ming, he sent his wife and his children with
such of his people, as were not meete for the
warres, into an Ilande called Peuca, situate
within the riuier of Danubie, in which Iland
the Thracians bordering with the Triballes
were fled also. It was not long after that Syr-
mus himselfe fledde thither likewise: the rest of
the Triballes that were not with the King
withdrawing into another Iland, where they
kept themselues against Alexander. But he by
pollicie found the meanes to drawe them out of
their strength, whereby he slew of them the
number of thre thousand, and the rest fledde a-
way, so that of prisoners there were few taken.
After this battaile he marched towardes the ri-
uer of Danubie, to the Iland where the Thra-
cians and the other Triballes were fledde. They
made notable resistāce agaynst hym, which they
micht the better doe, by reason that Alexander
wanted boates to passe into y Iland, the bankes
wherof were so high & steep, that they could not
be mounted vpon, but with great difficultie, the
Riuier besides running so swift by reason that
the streame was there driven into a strait.
When Alexander perceived the impossibilitie to
assale thē, he withdrew to another place, where
gett n̄

getting a few boates, passed the riuver in þ night, to the number of 1500. horsemen, & 4000. foote-men. Whith that company he set vpon a people called Getes, that stode ready in battaile on the further side with 4000. horsemen, and ten ȝ. foote-men, of purpose to stop the Macedonis passage. But by their sodaine comming ouer, the Getes were so afraid, that they did not abide the first onset. It seemed to them a matter of wonderfull aduenture, for Alexander in one night without a b ridge, to passe his power ouer the broadest and deepest riuver of all Europe. This matter strake such feare in them, that they fled into the woodes and desert places, leauing their citie desolate, which was taken by Alexander and ouerthrown. Syrmus king of the Tribals, with the Germanes, and the other inhabitous vpon Danubie, sent embassadours thither unto Alexander, to enter with him in friendship and amitie. And he condescending to their requests, enquired of the Germanes what thing it was in the world that they doubted most: thinking in dede that the terrorour of his name had bene the most fearesullest thing vnto them. But whē they vnderstoode his meaning, they answered, that they doubted greatly the falling of the skie. Whith whose presumptuous answeare Alexander was nothing moued, nor further replied, sauing onely that he said: the Germanes were a proud people, and therupon dismissed them. As he was goyng from thence against the Agrians and the

Peans,

Peans, he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleus had rebelld, and was confederate with Claucias the king of the Thaulantes, he had also intelligence, that þ people of Anteria would giue him battaile in his passage. Wherefore he committed to Lagarus King of the Agrians (which was wel beloued of king Philip, and no lese in his fauour) the charge to go against the Anterians, and promised him vpon his returne to giue him his sister Cyna in mariage. And Alexander himselfe with great celerite, went againt Clytus and Claucias, whom in sundry battailes he overcame, and put to flight. When Alexander was about these thinges, he receiuad aduertisement, that diuers cities in Grece, and specially þ Thebans, had rebelled, which thing moued him much, and was the cause that he returned with spedde to oppresse that commotion. The Thebans in this meane season besieged the castle of Thebes, wherein was a garison of Macedones, and went about by all meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iourneys to their rescue, and encamped with his hoste neere to the citie. Such as bare rule amongst þ Thebans, when they sawe him come, contrary to that they looked for, and doubting whither such aide should come to them from other citieg as was promised, began to consult how to proceed. At length by a generall consent, they determined to abide the aduenture and extremity of the warre. The king in the meane season stood at a

stay,

stay, giuing them space to be better aduised and change purpose, for he was of opinion, that no one citie would euer haue made resistaunce agaist so great a powrer as he had, beyng aboue xxx thousand footmen, and thre thousand horsemen, all old souldiers, and expert in the trauels of warre. The trust of their manhoode and valiantnes, had caused him to undertake y warres against the Persians. Truly if the Thebanes had gien place to fortune, and to the time, and would haue required peace, they might easily haue obtained it, his desire was so great to passe into Asia against the Persians. But y Thebanes that were determined to try their force, and not to make any sute, fought against the Macedons, far exceeding them in number, obstinately, and with great manhoode. But whiles the battailes were ioyning, the garison of the castle issued out vpon the Thebanes backes, whereby being inclosed, they were vanquished, their city taken, spolt, and utterly rased. Which extremity Alexander vsed of purpose, because he thought the rest of the Grecians afraid by their example, would be the more quiet, while he shold be in y wars of Asia. To gratifie the Phoceans and Plateans his confederates, which brought many accusations against the Thebanes, he slew of them six thousand, and sold thirtie thousand as slaves: the money whereof commyng, amounteth to the summe of four hundred and fortie talentes. Yet he spared all the lineage of Pindarus the

Poet,

Poet, whereby he would witnes vnto y world, the fauour he did beare vnto learned men. In this city of Thebes was a notable woman calld Timoclea, whom when a captain of Thrace did ravish, and would haue enforced her to confess her money. She brought him to a well, where(she said) all her precious geare was hidden. And whiles he stouped downe to looke into the well, she thrust him in, and threw stones after, whereby he was slaine. For this fact she being committed to prison, & afterwardes brought before Alexander: he asked her what she was, she answered without feare, that she was sister to Theogenes, which being elected general captain against king Philip his father, manfully died for the liberty of Greece. At whose stoutnesse and constancy, the king marueled much, that he caused her with her children to be set at liberty. The Athenians had so great pity & compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, that contrary to y commaundement of Alexander, they received into their city such of them as escaped. Which thing Alexander tooke in such displeasure, y when they sent embassadours the second time to demand peace, he would not graunt afftonement vpo any other condition, but that such Dratours and captains which had stirred them to rebellio, shold be deliuered vnto his handes. But at length the matter was brought to that point that the Dratours were resued, and the captaines banished, which straight fledde to Darius king of Persia.

At

The second booke supplied

At such tyme as Alexander assembled the Grecians in Isthmos for the determination of his journey into Persia, many Dratours and Philosophers came to visite him, onely Diogenes that remained about Corinthe, kept himselfe away, as one that esteemed Alexander nothing at all. Whereat he marueiled much, and went to visite him, where he was beaking himselfe in the sunne. He asked Diogenes if he had neede of any thing he might doe. To whom Diogenes neither gaue reverence nor thankes, but willed him to stand out of his sunne shine. In whose behaviour and wordes, Alexander tooke so great delite, that turning to those that were with him, sayd: if he were not Alexander, he would wish to be Diogenes. When he had put in order the affaires of Grece, committing þ rule there-of together with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernment of Antipater, whom he most trusted, in the beginning of the spring came to Hellespont with his whole army, which he transported into Asia, with incredible speede and diligence. When they were come to the further shore, Alexander threw a dart to the enimies land, & as he was armed, leaped out of the shippe with great gladnes, and there sacrificed, making petition unto the goddes, that they would vouchsafe to admit him king of that land. From thence he marched towardes his enimies, and forbade his souldiours to make any spoile vpon the countrey, perswading them to spare that was their owne,

of Quintus Curtius.

i3

owne, and that they should not destroy þ thing which they came to possesse. He had not in his army aboue the number of 32. M. footemen, and 8. M. horsemen, and but 180. ships: wherfore it is hard to iudge whether it be wonderful that he conquered the world, or that he durst attempt the conquest thereof with so small a power. He chose not out to such a daungerous enterprise, the yong men which were in the first flower of their age, but the old souldiours, of whome the more part for their long continuance in wars, were by the custome at liberty, and free from the warres, sauing at their owne pleasure. And there was no captaine nor any other, that bare office in his army, vnder the age of lx. yeeres. So that the souldiours for their experience, seemed to be Scholemasters of the warres, and the captains for their gravity appeared to be Senators in some auncient common wealth. That was the cause that in the fight none of them minded any flying, but euery one conceiued the victorie in his head, nor any put trust in his faete, but in his handes. Alexander that every where made sacrifice, did vse most solemnitie at Troy vpon Achilles tombe, of whom he was descended by his mothers side. He iudged him most happy of all men before him, because in such glory he died yong, & had his actes set forth of such an one as Homer was. Frō thence he passed forwards into the dominions of Darius king of Persia, which being the sonne of Arsanus, & the four-

E. j.

teenz

The second booke supplied

Item king after Cyrus, had gotten the possession of the Monarchy of the whole East part of the world. The chiefe cause that moued Alexander to invade him, was to be reuenged of the damages & destructions, wherewith his predecessors had afflicted the countrey of Greece, and also for demanding tribute of Philip his father, for the which he sent a proude & presumptuous embassage, calling himselfe the king of kinges, and kinsman of the gods. Lastly, he had written to Alexander, and called him his seruant, & gaue commission to his lieutenants, that they should beat that mad boy the sonne of Philip w^t rods, and afterwardes bring him to his presence in kings apparell. And furthermore, y^e they should drowne both ship and mariners, and conuey all the souldiours that should be left on lue beyōd the red seas. They therefore purposing to execute the kings commandement, assembled their power at the riuier of Granike, which doth divide the countrey of Troy from Propontides, having to the number of xxiiii. footemen, and as many horsemen, with whom they had take the ground on the further side of the riuier, where Alexander must needs passe over. Wherof whē he was aduertised, though he sawe present peril in y enterprise to fight in the water, & the ouse, from the lower ground, against his enemies, which had the aduantage of y higher banke, yet vpon a singuler trust of his owne good fortune, & the valiantnes of his souldiers attempted y matter.

of Quintus Curtius.

14

ter. At the first he was sore encountrēd, and put in great hazard of repulse, but at length he vanquished and ouerthrew his enimies. In doing whereof, there neither wanted policie in himself, nor yet singuler manhood in his me. There was slaine in that battaile of the Persians, xx. M. footmen, with ccl. horsemen, & of the Macedōns but 34. This victory was greatly effectual to Alexander's purpose, for thereby he wan the citie of Hardes, being the chiefe strength the Persians had for the mastering of the seas, unto the which citie & to all the rest of the countrey of Lydia, he gaue liberty to live vnder their owne lawes. He gote also into his possession the citie of Ephesos, by reason that the fourth day after the battaile, it was abandoned of the garison whch Darius set there. In the meane season there came embassadores from Magnesia, & from the Trallians, profering the delivery of their cities. Parmenio was sent to them with iii. M. footemen, & cc. horsemen with which power hee wan Miletum that stood at defence, & marching from thence toward Helicarnassus, got all the townes thereabouts at the first approach, and afterwards besieged Helicarnassus it selfe, whch with great trauaile he wan at length, and rased it to y ground. As Alexander entred into Caria, Ada the Queene of y countrey whch had bene spoiled of all her dominions by Drontobates Darius lieutenant (sauing of one strong city called Alinda) met with Alexander, & adopted him for her

C. ii.

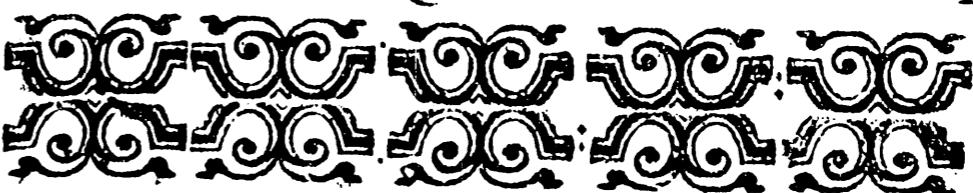
her

The second booke supplied

her sonne and heire. He would not refuse the name and the profer of her liberalitie, but did betake to her againe the custody of her owne citie. And besides for the memory of her benevolence put the whole countrey of Caria vnder her rule and subiection. From thence hee went into Licia and Pamphilia, to the intent that by getting the possession of the sea coastes of those countries, he might cause the sea power of Darius to stand to none effect. When he had once subdued the people of Pysidia, hee entered into Phrigia, by the which countrey he was enforced to passe, & marched towards Darius, with whom he had great desire to encounter, hearing say that hee was commyng against him with many thousandes of men of warre.

of Quintus Curtius.

15



THE THIRD BOOKE OF QVIN-
tus Curtius supplyed of the Actes of the
great Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Alexander in the meane season hauing sent Cleander to wage me of warre out of Peloponese, and established the countries of Lycia and Pamphilia, remoued his army to the city of Celenas.

Through this citie there ran at the same time the riuier of Marcia, very famous in the Greeke poesies: whose head springing out of the top of an high mountaine, and falling downe vpon a rocke beneath, made much noylse and roaring. It floweth from thence, and watereth þ fieldes all about, without encrease of any streeame sauing his owne. The colour whereof beyng like vnto the calme sea, gaue occasion to the Poets to faine, how the Nymphes for the delight they tooke in that riuier, chose their dwellyng vnder that rocke. So long as it runneth within compasse of the walles, it keepeth his owne name, but whē it commeth without where þ streeame is more swift and vehement, is then called Lyxum. Alexander did enter into this towne, being forsaken of the inhabitants, and perciuing they were fled into the castle which he determined

C. ix.

to

to win before he departed, first sent to summon them by an Herauld, which declared that except they would yeeld themselues, they should suffer the extremity of y law of Armes. They brought the Herauld into an high Tower which was strong both by nature & workmanship, willyng him to consider the thing, and to declare vnto Alexander that he waighed not sufficiently the strenght of the place, for they said they knew it to be impenetrable, and if the worst shold fall, yet would they be redy to die in their truthe and allegiance. Notwithstanding these words, whē it came to the point, that they sawe themselues besieged, and all things ware scarce, they tooke truce for lr. dayes, with this composition, that if they were not rescued by Darius within that time, they shoulde render it vp into his handes. Whch they did afterwards at the day appoin-
ted, when they saw no succours commyng. To y place there came embassadours to him from A-
thēs, making request, that such of their city as were taken prisoners at y battel fought vpō the riuier of Granike, might be restored to thē. To whom answer was made, that when the wars of Persia were brought to an end, both theirs & all other that were Greckes, shoulde be restored to their liberty. Alexander had his present care & imagination alwaies upon Darius, whome he knew not yet to be passed the riuier of Euphra-
tes. He assembled therefore all his power to-
gether, purposing to aduenture the hazard of the
battel.

battel. The countrey was called Phrygia y hee passed thorow, plentiful of villages, but scarce of cities, yet there was one of great antiquitie called Gordium, the roial seat sometime of king Midas. The riner Sangarius doth run thorow it, & it standeth in midway betwene the seas of Ponte & Cilicia : being iudged to be the narrowest part of Asia, by reason of the seas which lye on both sides, representing the forme of an I-land. And if it were not for a small point of land, that doth lie betwixt those seas, they shuld ioine both together. Alexander hauing brought this city vnder his obeisance, entred into the temple of Jupiter, where he sawe the wagon wherein Midas the builder of the city was wont to ride. The same in the furniture & outward apperāce differed little from other common wagons, but there was in it a thing notable : which was a rope folded and knit with many knots, one so wretched within another, that no man could perceiue the maner of it, neither where the knots beganne, nor where they ended. Hereuppon the countreymen had a prophesie, that hee shoulde bee lord of all Asia, that coulde vndoe the endelesse knotte. That was a mat-
ter which put the kyng in a marueilous desire to become the fulfiller of the prophesie. There stoode a great number aboute hym both of Phrygians & Macedōns, the one part of thē inuis-
ing to what conclusiō this matter woulde come to, and the other fearing the rash presumptiō of
C. iij. their

their king, forasmuch as they could perceiue by no reason how that knot shold be vndone. The king himselfe also doubting, that the failyng of his purpose in the matter, might be taken as a token of his euill fortune to come. After hee had considered the thing : What matter maketh it (quoth he) which way it be vndone, and striued no longer how to vnknit it, but out of hand cut with his sword the cordes asunder : thereby either illuding, or els fulfilling the effect of þ propherie. When this was done, Alexander purposed to finde out Darius wheresoever he were, & to the intent he would leau all thinges cleare behind his backe, made Amphitorus captaine of his nauy vpon the coast of Hellespont, committing the charge of the men of warre to Egilocus. They two had commission to deliuere the Islands of Lesbos, Scio, and Coos frō the hands of the Persians. And for the furniture of their charges, appointed to them l. talents. And sent to Antipater and such other as had the gouernance of the cities of Greece, lx. talents. He gaue order that such as were his confederates, shold with their owne power of ships defend the seas of Hellespont according to the league betwirt them. It was not yet come to his knowledge how Nennon was dead, vpon whom he set his whole regard, knowing if that he moued not against him, no man shold be his stop before he came to Darius. Alexander came to the citie of Ancyre where he made his musters, and so en-
fred

fred into Paphlagonia, whereunto the Grecians be borderers, of whom (it is said) the Venetians be descended. All this countrey yelded unto him, and gaue him pledges, obteyning to bee free of tribute, seeing they neuer paid any to the Persians. Calas was capitaine there, who faking with him the band of souldiers that were lately come out of Macedon went vnto Capadoccia. But Darius hearing of the death of Nennon, was no lesse moued therewith, then þ case required, for then all other hope set apart, he determined to try the matter in person. For he condemned all things that had bene done by his deputies, hauing opinion that good gouernement wanted in many of them, and that fortune had failed in them all. He came therefore to Babylon, where he encamped, assembling al his force together in sight, because he woulde shewe the greater courage. And vsing the example of Xerxes, in taking of his musters, entred so much ground about, as was able to receive ten thousand men, within which he lodged in the night such as had bene mustred in the day, and from thence they were bestowed abroad in the plaine countrey of Mesopotamia. The number of his horsemen and footemen were innumerable, and yet seemed in þ sight to be more then they were. There were of the Persians, one C. thousand, of whom xx. thousand were horsemen. Of the Medians, x. thousand horsemen, and xxx. thousand footemen. Of the Barcanites two þ. horsemen with

with broad swordes, and light bucklers, and ten
M. footmen with like weapons. There were of
the Armenians xl. M. footmen, and viij. M. horse-
men. The Hircanians of great estimation a-
mongst those nations had vi. thousand horsemens.
The Veruicens were xl. thousand footmen ar-
med with pykes, whereof parte had no heads of
Iron, but dried the points of them in the fire.
There were also of the same nation vi. M. horse-
men. There came from the Caspian sea viij. M.
footmen, and cc. horsemen, and with them of the
rude nations of Asia, vi. M. footmen, and iiiij. M.
horsemen. To the increase of these numbers
there were xxx. M. mercenary souldiers þ were
Greekes. Haste woulde not suffer to call for the
Bactrians, Sogdians, and Indians, with other þ
inhabiters of the red sea:nations which had na-
mes scarcely knowne to their owne king. Thus
Darius wanting nothing lesse then the multi-
tude of men, greatly rejoised to beholde the. And
passed vp with the vanitie and flatterie of the
great men, which were about him, turned to
Charidentus of Athens, an expert man of war,
(which for the displeasure that Alexander did
bear him, was banished the countrey) and asked
him if he thought not that compaunce sufficient
to overthrowe the Macedons. Wherunto Cha-
ridentus without respect of the kinges pride, or
his owne estate, answered : peradventure Sir,
(quoth he) yee wil not bee content to heare the
truth, and except I tell it p[re]sently, it shall be too
late

late hereafter. This great preparatiō and huge
armie of yours , gathered of the multitude of so
many nations , raised vp from all partes of the
Orient, is more fearefull to the inhabitors here-
abouts, then terrible to your enemies. Your me-
shine in colours, and glister in armour of golde:
exceeding so much in riches , that they which
haue not seene them with their eies, cannot con-
ceive any such thing in their minde. But contra-
riwise þ Macedons being rough souldiers, with
out any such exesse be terrible to beholde. The
fronts of their battails stande close together al-
waies in strength,furnished with pikes and tar-
gets for defence. That which they cal their Pha-
lini, is an immovable square of footmen, wher-
in euerie one stand close to other, ioyning wea-
pon to weapon . Euerie souldier is obedient to
that which is commaundered him , ready at his
Capitaines becke, whether it bee to followe his
ensigne, to keepe his aray, to stand still, to run, to
fitch a compasse , to chaunge þ order of the bat-
taile,to fight on this side or that side,euerie soul-
dier can do these things so well as the capitains.
And because you shal not thinke gold & siluer to
be so effectuall to this matter , they began & ob-
served this discipline, pouerty beeing maister.
When they be wery þ ground is their bed,they
are satisfied w[ith] such meat as they find by chace,
& they measure not their sleep by þ length of the
night. Think you þ horsemē of Thessaly, þ Achar-
nans & Etolians (invincible men of war) wil be
repulsed

repulsed with slings or staves hardened in the fire. It behoueth you to haue a like force to repulse them, and to be serued of the same kind of men. My counsel is thereforee that you send this gold and siluer to wage souldiours out of those countries from whence they come. Darius was a man of a meeke and tractable disposition, if y heighth of his estate had not altered the goodnes of his nature, which made him so vnpatient to heare the truth, that he commaunded Charidemus to be put straightwayes to death: beynge a man that was fled to his protection, & that gaue him right profitable counsel. When he was going towards his death, he left not his liberty to speake, but said: there is one at hand that shall reuege my death. For he against whom I haue giuen the counsaile, shall punish thee for not following of mine aduice. And thou being thus alterred with the liberty thou hast, beynge a King, shalt be an example to such as shall come after, that when men commit their deings to fortune, they cleerely forget theselues. Whiles C^t a ride, mus was speaking these words, they which had y charge committed vnto thē, put him to death, whereof afterwardes the King tooke ouer late repentaunce, confessing hym to haue spoken the truthe, and caused hym to be buried. There was one Thymones the sonne of Mentor, a young man of great actuitie, to whome Darius gaue the charge of all the souldiours straungers (in whom he had great confidence)

Willyng

willing him to receive them at Pharnabasus handes, and gaue to Pharnabasus the rule that Mennon had before. Thus Darius beeing carefull of the businesse he had in hande, whether it were through pensiuenes of minde, or that his fancie did diuine things to come, was cōtinually troubled w^t visiōs in his sleepe. He dreamed y the Macedons campe was all on fire. And shortly after it seemed to him that Alexander was brought to his presence in such kinde of apparell as he himselfe did weare when hee was first chosen king, and that Alexander should bee carried on horsebacke through Babylon, and so vanishe out of sight. Here vpon the interpretours of dreams with the diuersitie of their diuining, did dryue Darius into diuers imaginacions. Some sayde his dreame betokened good fortune to himselfe, because of the fire that seemed to bee in his enemis campe, and for that Alexander without anis vesture of a king, appeared in the vulgar apparell of the Persians. Other did interprete it otherwise: that the lightening in the Macedōs campe, signified glory and victorie to Alexander, & also the enjoying of the Empire of Asia, which they made a cleare matter, for as much as Alexander appeared in the same vestures that Darius ware when he was chosen king. Care besides and trouble of mind (as it often chanceth) brought things past againe to remembrance. It was rehearsed howe Darius in the beginning of his reigne chaunged the scabard of his sworde from

from the Persian maner , into the fashion that the Greekes vse. Where-upon the Chaldeis did prognosticate, that y^e kingdome of Persia shold bee translated to those , whose fashion hee had counterfeited. Notwithstanding through the confidence of such prophesies as were commonlie soluen abroad, and of the vision that he seemed to haue seene in his sleepe, became verie merrie, and commaunded his army to march forwards to the riuier of Euphrates. It was the auncient custome amongst the Persians, at the sunne rising to raise their campe, and warning of their setting forwards to be giuen by the sounding of a trumpet,sounded at the kings pavilion , vpon the which there stod an Image of the sunne enclosed in christhal, shining so bright, that it might be seen throughout the camp. The order of their marching was in this manner. The fire which they call holy and eternall, was carried before vpon siluer aulters, and the priests of their lawe went nexte singing after their countrey maner. There followed CCC.lv.young men in scarlet robes, like in number vnto the daies of the yere. Then came the Chariot consecrated to Jupiter drawne with white palfreyes , a greate horse following which they cal the horse of the sunne. Such as did ride vpon the palfreyes did weare white garmentes , bearing roddes of golde in their handes. Next in order came ten Chariots, garnished and wrought with siluer and golde. The horsemen of twelve nations followed next

In sundrie sort of armour. Then came a compa-
nie that the Persians call immortall, the riches
of whose apparell, exceeded farre the rest : they
had all chaines of gold, coates embroidered with
golde, and sleeves sette with pearle. There follo-
wed within a smal distance a band of xv. cal-
led Doriphey, reputed for the kinges kinsmen,
which were disguised in manner like Clomen,
more notable for their galauntnes and varietie
of apparell, then for the armour they did weare.
Such as were wont to receive the kings robes,
did ride next before the chariot, vpon the which
Darius did sitte on high, with great pompe and
magnificece : his chariot beeing garnished on
both sides with carued Images of their Goddes
made of siluer and golde . The steame whereof
was set with pearls & pretious stones, with y. I-
mages of golde standing there-vpon of a cubite
length, combattaunt one against the other, and
ouer their heades an Eagle of golde displayed.
But amongst all the reste, the kinges apparaile
shewed marueilous sumptuous , which was of
purple empaled white, with a bord er embroide-
red of gold, Faulcons fighting tegither. He was
girte effeminately with a girdle of golde, and the
swoorde that hang there-vpon , had the scabarde
made of a pearle . The diademe the king ware
vpon his head,called of the Persians Cydarys,
had a roule about it of white & greene. Next be-
hind the king came x. horsmen, which had all
their speares plated with siluer, and their speare
heades

heades gilded. HEE was enclosed on both sides with C.C. of the bloud royall, at whose backes there followed xxx. M. footemen, and after them CCC. of the kings coursers.

Within the distance of one furlong Hisigam his the mother of Darius was caried in a Waggon, and his wife in an other: the train of their women riding on horsebacke. Next them xv. wagons, wherein the kings children were carried, their Nurses and Eunuches, which are greatlie esteemed in that cuntry. And after them followed CCC. xl. of the kings concubines, all apparelled like Queenes. Then came vi. C. Mules, & CCC. Camelles, that caried the kings treasure garded with a band of Archers. The wifes of the kinges kinsmen, & the other that were ab: ut the king, came riding next, & after them a greate companie of slaves and varlets. Last came the rereward lightly armed, whereof euerie Capitaine severally with his owne companie closed in the armie, such was the order of Darius host. But on the other side beholding Aleranders armie, there was to bee seene a great difference.

Neither the men nor the horse glistered so with golde, nor pretious ornamentes, but onely with the brightnesse of their harnessse. But they were obedient at their Capitaines becke, alwaies in a readinesse to stay or to passe forwardes, neyther combred with ouer great multitude, nor pested with too much haggage. They wanted not in a nyne place either ground for their encamping, or

victu-

victualles for their feeding, whereby their small number was always sufficient when thei came to fight: Whereas Darius the Lord of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of y groud wherein he was driven to giue battaile, coulde worke but the effect of a small number, beeing the thing which hee before had despised in his enimie. Alexander appointed to Abissamines the rule of Cappadocia, and marching with his armie towardes Cilicia, came to the place called Cyrus Campe, because Cyrus lodged there, when he passed into Licia against king Cressus. This place was distant about 50. furlonges frō the straight, entering into Cilicia. The country men vse to call those streightes Pylae whereas the naturall situation of the place had made a fortification, as it were with mans hands. Whē Arsanes gouernour of Cilicia understood of Aleranders comming, remembryng what opinion Memnon was of in the beginning of the warres put in execution his wise counsell, when it was too late, wasting and destroying throughout Cilicia, all such things as he thought might stande his enemie in stead, leauing the countrey wast, which he thought hee was not able to defende: where as it had beene much better to haue taken the streight before his enemies, where from the hilles lying ouer the waye, he might without hazarde, eyther haue letted his entrie, or els haue distressed him in his passing. But he leauing a small number for the defence of y streight

D.J. retis

retired himselfe backe to wasse the Countrey, which his parte had beeene to defende from destruction. By his departure it came to passe, that such as hee lefte behinde, thinking them selues betrayed, woulde not so much as abyde the sighte of their enemies, when a much lesse number had beeene sufficient to haue kepte the passage. For the situation of Cilicia is such, that it is eniroued rounde about with a continuall rough and stape mountayne, which rising from the Sea on the one side, and fetching a compasse about, ioyneth againe with the Sea on the other side. Through the parte of y moun- taine which lyeth furthest from the Sea, there bee thre narrowe and rough passages, by one of the whiche they must enter, that will passe in to Cilicia. The Countrey towardes the Sea, is plaine and full of Ryuers, amongst the whiche two bee notable, Pyramus and Cydnus, but Cydnus most speciall, not so much for the greatness, as for the clearenes of his water, which from his first spring runneth pleasantly through all the Countrey, and hath no other Ryuer running into him to disturbe the purenesse of hys streame. For which cause it remaiueth alwayes cleare, and also colde, by reason of the wooddes that doe shadowe all the bankes. Time hath consumed manie antiquities within that countrey, which be remembred of the Poets.

There may yet bee seene the foundations of the Citties of Lirnessus and Cebestus, with the cause

caue and wood of Coricius, where Hassron cro- weth, with manie other thinges, whereof no- thing remaineth sauing onely the fame. When Alexander entred the streightes before mentio- ned, & beheld the situation of them, he never in al his life marueiled more of his own felicitie and good fortune: confessing that it had not been pos- sible for him to haue passed, if anye had stande at defence against him: for that with stones onely he might haue beeene distressed, the streight be- sides beeing so narrosw, that there coulde not passe aboue foure in a front. To the increase of which difficultie, the toppes of the mountaines hung ouer the wayes, which in manie places were broken and made hollowe, with the strea- mes that ranne downe from the hilles. Alexan- der sent the Thracians that were light armed, to stoe and discouer the wayes, for feare the e- nemies shold lye there in bushmen, and sodain- ly breake forth vpon him. He appoynted also a band of archers to take the top of the hill, which were willed so to march, that they might bee al- wayes in a readines to fight. After this manner he came with his armie to the Cittie of Tarson, which was sette on fire by the Persians, because that Alexander shold finde no harborow there. But Parmenio was sent thither with a choyse number of horsemen to quench the fire. Who understanding that the enemies were fledde awaie through his comyng, entered into the Cittie, and by that meanes saued it from

D.y. burning.

burning. The Riuere of Cydnus spoken of before, did run through this Citie, where the king arriued about middaye, it bæing in the sommer season, what time the heate is no where more feruent then in that countrey. He tooke such delight in the pleasantnes of the water, that hee would needes bathe his bodie, to wash away the swette and dust he had caught. And being in a heate entered naked into the water in euery mans sight, thinking it shold bee a contentation to his souldiers, to see that the ornaments about his bodie were none other but such as they commonly vsed to weare. He was not so soon entred, but all the parts of his bodie began to shake and tremble, his face wared pale, and the liuelie heate was mortified in all partes of his bodie. His seruantes tooke him vp, and carryed him into his tent, as one besides himselfe, and at ther treme point of death. Then there was a greate desolation and heauines in the Campe, they wepte, lamented, and bewailed, that such a king so noble a Capitaine as had not beene scorne in a nie age, shold thus bee taken from them in the chiese of his enterprise, and brunt of all his busines, and that after such a maner, not in battaille slaine by his enemies, but thus caste away baying in a riuere. It greued them that Darius nowe being at hande shoulde obteyne the victorie by such a chaunce, without seeing of his enemie, and that they shoulde bee enforced to returne backe againe as men vanquished by those countreyes,

treyes, through the which they had passed before as victoires. In which countreyes all things being destroied by themselves or by their enemies it was of necessitie for them to die for hunger, though no man shoulde pursue them. It became a question amongst themselves, who shoulde bee their Capitaine in their fleyng away: or what hee were that durst succede Alexander: And though they myghte safely arriue at the Sea of Hellespont, yet who shoulde prepare them passage there. When they had disputed these questions, their argument by and by was turned into compassion towardes their Prince, lamenting as men out of their wittes, that such a flower of youth, such a force of courage as was in him, that the same their kyng and companyon in armes, shoulde after this sorte bee taken from them. In the meane season Alexander beganne to fetche hys wynde somewhat better, and when hee came vnto himselfe, hee lyfted vp hys eyes, and beganne to knowe his frendes that were about him. That the vehemence of hys sicknesse somewhat asswaged, was perceived in that he beganne to vnderstande the perill hee was in. But the pensiuenes of his minde was great hinderaunce vnto his health, for tidinges came that Darius within five dayes would bee in Cilicia, which was the chiese thinge that made him to sorrow and lament. Hee could not take it but greuouslie, that such a victorie shoulde bee plucked out of his handes through

D.y.

his

his infirmitie. And that hee shoulde bee taken as one tyed in fettters, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He called therefore to him both his frendes and Phisitions and sayd vnto them; Ye see in what state of my busines fortune hath taken mee. Hee thinke the noyse of mine enemis doe ringe in mine eares, and I whiche moued firste the warre, am nowe challenged and prouoked to the fight. When Darius did write to mee such proude letters, he was not ignorant of mine estate. Yet peraduenture hee shall be received, if I may vse mine own minde in recouery of mine owne health. My case requireth no slacke medicinies, nor slowe Phisitions: I had rather dy stoutly at once, then to consume long time in my recouerie. Wherefore if there be anie hope or cunning in phisick, let it be shewed. And thinke that I seeke not remedie so much for mine owne life, as I doe for the care I haue to encounter with mine enemies. When they heard him speake these wordes, they were in great doubt of his sodaine rashnes, and therefore euerie one required him aparte, that hee wold not increase his perill through anie hast, but suffer himselfe to be ordred by the aduyse of his Phisitions. For they alleadged that unproued remedies were not suspected of them wythout cause, seeing his enemie had gone about to corrupt such as were about him, by promising a M.tallentes to his killer, which cause alleadged, they thought no man would be so bolde to make

make any experiance of phisick vpon him, which for the want of triall thereof, might in any wise giue cause of suspition. There was amongst the excellent phisitions that came with Alexander out of Macedon, one Philip of Acarnon, which was preferred to him for the preseruation of his heath, and had faithfully serued him from his childhood, and therfore loued him with entire affection. He promised to prouide for the king an approued medicine, but such a one as woulde work vehemently: but by the drinking thereof, he doubted not (he saide) but to expulse the force of his disease. That promise pleased no man but onely him which in the profe thereof shoulde abide the perill. For he could endure all thinges better then delay. Darius and his power were alwaies in his eye, & he had an assured confidece y the victorie should fall on his side, if he myghte be able but to stand in the sight of his men. The thing that onely greeued him was, that y Phisition wold not minister before the thrid day. In the meane season Parmenio, whome of all his nobilitie he trusted moste, had exhorted him by his letter, that he shold not comit himselfe to y cure of Philip, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand talents, and the promise of his sister in mariage. Those letters brought the king in great care and doubte, and moued him to weigh and ponder secretly with himselfe, all those thinges, that eyther feare or hope coulde put in his heade. Shall I aduenture (thought he)

D.iiij.

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he) to drinke this medicine? What if it be poison? Shall I not then bee accounted the cause of mine owne death? Shall I suspect the fidelitie of my Phisition? or shall I suffer mine enemye to kill me in my bed? yet were it better for mee to perish by other mens treason, then thus to die through mine owne faint heart. His minde being thus diuerslie wrought, hee woulde shewe the contentes of the letter to no man, but sealed it with his owne ring, and laide it vnderneath his pillow. Two dayes were passed in these imaginacions, and the third daye the Phisition came to his beddes side with the medicine readie made. When the King sawe him, hee raysed vp himselfe vpon his elbowe, and taking the letter in his lefte hand, with the other hand tooke the cuppe, and straigh, supped it of. When he had so done, hee deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whildest he was reading, hee behelde him continually in the face, supposing that if hee had beeне faultie, some token would haue appeared in his countenance. When Philip had read the letter, hee shewed more tokens of displeasautnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon his knees, and saide: Sir, I see my life doth depende vpon your health, but your recoverie shal declare that I am falsly charged with this treason: therefore when by my meanes you shall get your health, I truste you will not then denie me my life. In the meane season lay feare aside, and suffer the medicine to worke,

worke and to haue his operation. Keepe your mynd quiet, and suffer not your selfe to be troubled with the superstitious carefulnesse of your friends, which though it proceedeth of good will, is notwithstanding much impediment vnto your health. His wordes not onely satisfied the king, but made him to conceiue perfite hope of his recovery, and sayd vnto Philip: If y gods would haue graunted thee to devise a meane to proue the confidence I haue in thee, and the god wil I beare thee, thou couldst not haue chosen any so good as this is: for notwithstanding the letter, I dranke of the medicine, beleuyng thee to be no lesse carefull for declarations of thine owne trueth, then for my health, & therewith gaue him his hand. Yet afterwards when the medicine began to worke, it was such in operations, that it seemed to verifie Parmenio his accusation: for he fainted oft, & had much labour to drawe his breath. Then Philip left nothing unproued or vndone that might serue for his purpose. He laied warme clothes to his body, and alwayes as he fainted, reviued hym againe with the sauour of one thing and other. And when he perceiued him once to come to himselfe, he ceased not to feede him with talke, and one while put him in remembrance of his mother and his sisters, and another while of the great victory that was at hand. When y power of the medicine was once entred into his veines there appeared straignt in all partes of his body manifest

manifest tokenes of heale. First quicknes came to the spirits, and after the body recovered his strength, a great deale sooner then any man looked, for the third day after he had bene in this case he walked in the sight of the souldours, which wonderfully rejoiced to see him. And they shewed no leste affection vnto Philip, whom every one severally embraced and gaue him thankes, as if he had beeene a God. It can not be expressed besides that naturall veneration that Macedones vse to beare vnto their prince, in what reverence they especially had Alexander, and how seruently they loued him. They had conceyued of him an opinion that he could enterprise no thyng but that it was furthered by God, and fortune was so fauourable vnto hym, that his rashnesse was alwayes an increase of his glory. His age besides scarcely ripe and yet sufficient for so great thinges, did marueilously set forth all hys doyngs. And thinges which out of the warres shoulde bee counted lightnesse, are wont to be most acceptable to the souldours, as the exercising of his body amongst them, his apparell not differing from þ common sort, with his courage and forwardnes in the field, which giftes giuen hym of nature, and thinges besides done of policie, did get hym both loue and reuerence of his people. When Darius heard of Alexanders sicknes, hee marched towardes the riuere of Euphrates with all the hast he could make, in conueying of so com-

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brous an army. He made there a bridge, and in xv. dayes passed ouer, his people hauing great desire to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that tyme Alexander had recovered his strength, and was come to a city called Holos, which the inhabitants yielded vnto him, and for two hundred talents obtained assurance. Notwithstanding he put a garison in the castle, and there celebrated playes and triumphes which hee had vowed to Aesculapius and Minerva, for the recovery of his health: where being giuen so quietly to his pastime, shewed how little he esteemed the comming of his enemies. Whiles Alexander was busied about these thinges, he received pleasant newes how his men had won a battail of the Persians at Halicarnassus, and that the Mindians and Cabrians with diuers other nations in those partes were brought vnder his obedience. This triumph once ended, he remoued, and by a bridge made ouer the riuere of Pyramus, he came to the city of Malon, and from thence with another remoue, came to a Towne called Castabulon. There Parmenio returned to the king, which had beeene sent to search the streightes that lay betwene them and the Citie of Ison. Hee had preuented the Persians at the passage, and so leauyng men for the defence thereof, tooke the Citie of Ison that was leste desolate. Hee departed from thence, and did drive the Persians out of the mountains, searching and clearing al þ wayes.

S. J.

So that hauing made all things sure for the army to passe, he returned againe both the autho^r of the acte, and reporter of the thing done. Alexander encamped within the citie, and there debated in counsaile, whether it were better to passe on further, or els to tary ther, for a greater power which was commyng to him out of Macedon. Parmenio was of opinio that this place was most meetest to abide Darius in, and giue him battaile, where both the armies shold bee of like force by reason of the streights, wherein no great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschew y plaines, wherein their enemies shold haue great aduantage through their great number that myght enclose them about. Wherein (he sayd) he doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but onely feared that their owne men might be ouercome with wearines, where a multitude shold fight with a fewe, and fresh men succede in the place of al them that fainted. This counsaile was received for good, and Alexander determined in the same place to abide his enimies. There was in y host of the Macedonis one Hysenes a Persian, sent before tyme from the gouernour of Egypt unto king Philip: who being aduanced with reward and promotions, chose to liue out of hys owne countrey, and so folowing Alexander into Asia, was esteemed amongst those that the king trusted well. A souldiour of Crete deliuered him a letter from Nabarzanes Darius lieutenaunt.

Wherin

wherein he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might winne fauour & reputation with Darius. Hysenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to present the letter to the king, but seyng him occupied with weighty affaires of prouision for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whiles he waited for a more conuenient tyme, he brought himselfe in suspition of treason. For the letter was brought to the kings hands before it was deliuered vnto him: who reading it, did seale the same with a straunge seale, and caused it to be deliuered to Hysenes, to proue thereby his fidelitie. But because he concealed the thing many dayes, and opened not the matter to the king, it seemed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the kings commaundement he was put to death by the band of the Cretensians. The Greeke souldiours which Thimodes had receiued of Pharnabasus (being those that Darius trusted most) were come vnto him. They perswaded much Darius to retire backe into the plaines of Mesopotamia, and if he would not do so, that at the least he shold deuide his power, and not commit the whole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This counsaile was not so displeasant vnto the king, as it was to such that were about him. For they said, mercenary souldiers were alwaies full of treason, and were to bee doubted the more for that they counsailed the army to be deuided, which was for no other purpose,

purpose, but onely that they might haue com-
moditie to flie vnto Alexander, whē they shoulde
haue any charge committed vnto thē. There is
nothing therefore more sure for vs (quoth they)
then to enclose them round about with our ar-
my, and to cut them in peeces, for an example
to the world, that treason should never bee left
vniuenched. But Darius which was of a meek
and good disposition, refused to commit so cruel
an acke, in slaying such as had betaken them-
selues to his trust. For if we shoulde foile our
handes (quoth hee) with their bloude, what
strange nation would euer then commit them-
selues into our handes? alleadging that there
ought no man to lose his life for giveng foolish
counsaile. For who would be bold to giue coun-
saile, if in counsailing there should be any peril?
I call you (quoth he) to counsaile daily, and
heare the diversitie of your opinions, and yet
mistrust not them that giue me not alwayes
the best counsaile. He caused the Greckes to be
answered, that he gaue him thankes for their
good will. But in returning backe (he sayd) he
should giue vp his countrey into hys enemies
handes, which were not conuenient. And consi-
dering the force, the same is of, in the warre, in
goyng backe he should appeare to flie. But to de-
ferre the fight, he thought it worst of all, seing so
great an army as he had (the winter thē appro-
ching) could not be vitailed in a desolate coun-
try, that had been wasted both by themselves &

by

by their enemies. And for the deuiding of his
power he shewed that he could not do it, obser-
ving the customes of his predecessors, which
were not wont to hazard the battaile, but with
whole power. He declared that Alexander before
his comming seemed terrible to the world, and
through his absence was brought in a vain pre-
sumptio. But after he saw him come forwards,
became wary & wel advised, hiding him in the
streights of the mo untains, like those cowardly
beasts, which hearing the noise of commers by,
do hide themselues in the dennes of the woodes.
He hath blinded his soldiours (quoth he) with
his counterfeit sicknes, but now I will not suf-
fer him to prolong the fight any longer, which if
he wil refuse, I wil oppresse him in his lurking
hole. These words he spake with greater vaunt
then trueth, & sent his treasure and iewels with
a small conuoy to Lamasco in Syria, & entered
with his army into Cilicia, bringing with hym
according to his countrey maner, both his mo-
ther, his wife, his little sonne, and hys daugh-
ters. It chanced the same night that Alexander
was come to the straignt entering into Syria,
Darius came vnto the place which they call
Pilæ Americæ: the Persians not doubtyng at
all, but that the Micedons would haue forsa-
ken the citie of Issor, & fled away for feare. For
certaine of them that were weake and could
not folow the army were taken, y which Dari-
us through instigation of the great men about
him,

him, raging in barbarous crueltie, caused their hands to be cut off, and to be led about his cape, to the entent they might behold the multitude of his men, whom after sufficient view taken, he let them goe to shew Alexander what they had saene. Darius remoued and passed the riuere of Pyramus, purposing to pursue after the Macedons, which he thought had bene flying away. They which had their hands cut off, came running in amonsgt the Macedons, declaryng that Darius was coming in great hast. There was scarcely any credite giuen to their wordes, but to be sure Alexander sent spies toward the sea coast, to know whither Darius were there in person, or els had sent some other to make a shew of a poluer. The spies returning, did report that his whole army was at hand, and straightwayes the fires might be saene, which gaue such a shew (by reason they lay stragling so far abroad to get forage) as though þ whole countrey had bene on fire. When Alexander was ascertained of the trueth, he encamped in the same place where the tidings came unto hym, being marueilous glad because he knew hee should fight, specially in the streights, being the thing that he had alwayes desired. But as it is commonly saene, when danger and extremity is at hand, confidence is conuerted into feare. So he doubted not without great cause, that fortune might change vpon him, by whose fauour he had done so great actes, and considered her muta-

mutabilitie by such thinges, as she had taken from other, and giue to him. He saw there was no prorogation of the time, but that after one night passed, the victory should be determined. Yet on the other side, he called vnto remembrance how the reward ensuing of the victory, farre exceeded the aduenture. For as the chaunce was doubtfull, so being discomfited, he was certayne to die with honour and perpetual praise. When he had waryed these thinges, he gaue order that the souldiours should refresh themselves, and at the third watch to be armed in a readinesse to set forwards. He himselfe went vp into the top of a mountaine with many torches and lightes about hym, where he made sacrifice vnto þ gods after his countrey maner. And when the houre was come appointed vnto the souldiers, at the third sound of the trumpet, they were in a readines both to march and fight. Then exhortation was giuen vnto them to passe on with bold courage, and so by the spring of the day they were come to the streights, wherein their purpose was to prevent Darius. By that time such as were sent before to skoure the country, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thirtie furlonges. Then the battayles were stayed and set in such order as they should fight. Like as Alexander was enfourmed of Darius, so he was aduertised of Alexander by the peasants of the countrey, which came fearefully runnyng vnto hym, declaring that Alexan-

The third booke supplyed

der was at hande. These wordes were not belieued: for they coulde not thinke them to bee conunyng, whome they thought before to bee fledde. But when they perceiued that it was so in dede, because they were in better order to pursue their enemies then to encounter with them in battaile, they were striken with a marueilous sodaine feare. Every man tooke him to his armour in haste. Which haste, and the calling that one made vpon an other, dyd put a great feare amongst them. Some ranne vp to the topes of the hill'es to view the Macedones, other fell to bridelyng their horses. So that the hoste full of diversitie, and not ruled by any certayne gouernement, with their hurley burley, put all thinges out of order. Darius at the first had appoynted one part of his power to take the mountaine, which settynge vpon his enemies backes, might enclose them both behynd and before: and assigned an other company to passe along the sea side, which was on the right hande, to keepe his enemies doyng on every part. Hee gaue order also that twentie thousand scotemen with a band of Archers shoulde passe the Riuier of Pyramus, and give an onset that way. But if they founde any impediment why they might not doe so, then hee willed them to retire amongst the mountaynes, and inuade their enemies on their backes. But fortune which was of greater force then any pollicie, determined those thinges that were

of Quintus Curtius.

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were well devised, accordyng as shē thought good. For some durst not for feare execute the thing that was commaunded them, and then the rest worked in bayne, for where the members fayle, the whole body is confounded. The order of Darius armie stode thus aranged to fight: his power beyng deuided into two battailes: one marchyng on the leste hand, and the other on the right. Nabarzanes empaled the battail on the right hand with a great power of horsemen, and xxx. thousand Slingers and Archers. Thimones was also in the battaile with xxx. thousand mercenarie Greekes, beyng in very dede Darius chieffest force, a power equall vnto Phalanx of the Macedones. In the battaile on the leste hand, Aristomenes was in the forefronte with thirtie thousands scotemen, hauyng planted for his succours and relieve, such nations as were counted most valiant. There were about the kyng beyng also in the battayle, three thousand choise horsemenne, that were of the ordinarie garde of hys personne, and fourtie thousand scotemen, with the horsemen of Hircanie, and Media, and the horsemenne of other nations that were wynges on both sides. And besides these numbers there went before his battayle in a forlorne hope, sixe thousande Slingers and casters of dartes. All the playne grounde betwene the streightes, was filled with men of warre, and Darius battayle stode arauinged

C.y. from

from the mountaine downe to the sea side. The mother and wyfe of Darius with all the flocks of women, were receyued in the middest of the battaile, Alexander on the other side set hys square battaile of fotemen called Phalanx (beyng the Macedones chiefe force) in the fore-front. Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio was capitaine of the battaile on the right hand, and with him Cenos and Perdicas, Meleager, Ptolomens, and Amintas were ioyned euery one with his owne band. Parmenio and Caterus had the rule of the battaile on the left hande, which stretched towards the Sea, but Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horsemen were set in winges to both those battailes. The Macedon men, and Thessalian horsemen beyng appointed to the right hand battaile, and the horsemen of Peloponese to the battaile on the other side, before which battaile, there were also set Singers with archers amongst them, & the Crestians that were lightly armed, went before the maine battaile. The band of Agrians that were lately come out of Greece, were assigned to encounter those that Darius had sent to take the top of the mountaine. He willed Parmenio, that as much as he might, he should stretch out his hand towards the Sea, to withdrawe so far as he could from the hilles which the enemies had taken: But such as had direction by Darius to take the hils, neither durst resist such as came against them, nor yet compasse about such

as were passed by them, but fled away at the first sight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunced wel for Alexander, for it was the thyng that he doubted most, that they from the hygher ground should inuade the open side of his battaile, which lay unlancked towards them. The Macedones marched xxxij. in a ranke, for the straighnes of the ground would not suffer the to goe any broader, but by little and litle as the plaine betwene the mountaines began to enlarge, so they had libertie both to make their battailes broader, and also for the horsemen to march vpon the sides. When both the battels were come within sight togetheres, the Persians first gaue a terrible and rude shout, which was againe doubled of the Macedons, not with their number, which were farre inferiour vnto the Persians, but with the rebound of the hils and the rocks, which doubled every voyce of theirs. Alexander did ride vp and downe before the frontes of his battailes, making a signe to his souldiours with his hand, that they shold not make ouer much hast to ioyne with their enemis, for bringing themselues out of breath. And as he passed by, he vsed to every nation sundry exhortations, as he thought meete for their dispositions and qualitie. He put the Macedons in remembraunce of their olde yovellte and manhood, with the number of battailes that they had wonne in Europe, how that they were come thither as well by their owne desires

desires as by his conduct, to subdue Asia and the uttermost boundes of the Orient. He shewēd them to be the people that were ordained to conquerē the worlde, and to passe the boundes both of Hercules and Bacchus. Hē declared that both Bactria and Inde should be theirs, in respect of which the countreys that they had scane were but trifles, and yet were to be gotten all with one victory : wherein (he sayde) their trauayle should not be in vayne, as it was in the barreine rockes of Illyria, or in y moun-
taynes of Thrace, but that in this conquest the spoyle of the whole Orient was offered unto them. For the gettyng whereof, they should scarcely neede to occupy their swordes, since the battailes of their enemies wauered so alreadie for feare that with their approche onely they should put them to flight. He reduced his father Philip unto their memory, how he conquered the Athenians with the countrey of Boetia, where he razed to the ground the noble City of Thebes. After that he made rehearsall of the battaile wonne at the River of Granike, and of all the cities that hee had taken, or that had been yelded unto him, with the countreys they had paſſed thorow and subdued. When he came unto the Greekes, he desired them to call to mynde the great warres that had beeне made against their countrey in tymes past by y Per-
sians. First by the pride of Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made destruction both by water
and

and land in such sort, that the riuers coulde not serue them of drinke, nor the earth of victuals for to eate ; rehearsing also how the temples of their gods had been by them polluted and put to ruine, their cities ouerthowen, and the truces and promises by them violated and broken, that were confirmed both by diuine and humaine lawes. When he passed by the Illyrians and Thracians which were accustomed alwaies to liue upon theſt and spoile : he bade them behold their enemies which glistered with golde, and bare no armour, but spoyle for them to take. Hē encouraged them to goe forwardes lyke men, and plucke the praye from those effemi-
nate women, and to make exchaunge of their craggy rockes and bare hilles alwayes full of ſnowe, for the plentifull groundes and riche landes of Persia. By the tyme hē had made these exhortations, they were come within the thowle of their Dartes. And Darius horſe-
men gaue a fierce charge upon the right hand battaile of the Macedonians. For Darius de-
ſire was to tri the battaile by horſemen, iud-
ging (as it was in dede) that the chiefeſt pow-
er of his enemies conſiſted in their square bat-
taile of ſootemen. So that the battaile where Alexander remained, was wrought to the poynt of encloſing about, if he had not perceiued the ſame in time, who commanded two troupes of his horſemen to keepe the top of the hil, & brought all the rest to the encounter of hys enemies.

Then he conueyed the Thessalian horsemen from the place where they stode to fight, wilyng their Capitaine to bryng them about behynde the battailes, and there ioyning with Parmenio, to doe the thyng manfully that hee shold appoynt them. By this the Phalanx of the Macedones in maner enclosed about with their enemies, fought notably on all partes, but they stode so thicke, and were so ioyned one to an other, that there wanted scope to welde their dardes. They were so mingled together, that in casting one letted onother, verely felwe lighted vpon the enemies with weake dardes, & the most part fell on the ground without harme doyng, wherfore beynge enforced to ioyne hand for hand, they valiauntly vsed the sworde. Then there was great effusion of bloud: for both the armies closed so neere, that their harnesse clashed together, weapon against weapon, and soyned one at anothers face with their swordes. There was no place for the fearefull or the coward to sile backe, but eche set his fate to another, and by fighting, kept still their place, til they could make their way by force, & so alwaies passed forwards, as they had once ouerthrown their enimies. As they were wearied & traunaled thus with fighting, they were euer received wⁱ fresh enimies: such as were wounded, might not depart out of y battell (as it hath bene sien elsewhere) their enemies assailed the so garely before, & their fellowes thrust on so hard behynde,

behind. Alexander y day did not only such things as pertained to a Capitaine, but aduentured himselfe as farre as any priuate souldier, coueting by all meanes to kill Darius, which hee esteemed the greatest honour. Darius did ride a lost vpon his chariot, giuing great prouocation both to his enemies to assaile him, and for hys olone men to defend him. As Oratres his brother appeared most notable amongst them all in his furniture and personage, so in hardinelle and affection towardes the king he exceeded far the rest, speciallie in that case of necessitie. For when he sawe Alexander approach so neare, hee thrust in before Darius with y band of horsemen, whereof he had the charge, whereas ouerthrowing diuers, he put many to flight. But the Macedons swarmed so about the king, and were in such a courage by the exhortatiō that ech made to other, that they charged again vpon the band of horsemen. Then the slaughter was great, and the ouerthrowe manifest. About the chariot of Darius, the noblest of his capitaines lay dying honourably in the sight of their prince. For like as they receiuued their deatnes woundes, so they fell without turning their backes. Amongst the Arices, Romythres, and Sabaces, gouernours of Egypt, having the charge of great numbers of men, were ouerthowne and slaine, and about them there lay by heapes a huge number of the bulgar sorte, both of horsemen and footmen. Of the Macedons also some were slaine, specially of

such as pressed most forwarde, amongst whome the righte shoulder of Alexander lightlye was hurte with a sworde. In this throng the horses that drewe Darius chariot, were thrust in with pikes, which beeing wood for paine of their woudes, beganne to struggle and ouerthowle their maister. He fearing therefore to be taken aline, leaped downe, and was set vpon a ledde horse, and so fledde away, casting his Diademe from his head, because he wrold not be known. Then all his men for feare disparched, fledde by such waies as were open for them, and threw away their armour, which before they had taken for their defence: Such a thing is feare, that refuseth the thing that shold be his safegarde. Whē Parmenio sawe them flie, he straight comman- ded the horsemen to pursue them in the chase, and put all his enemies to flighte, that were on that parte. But on the other hand, the Persians put the Thessalian horsemen to a soze di- stresse, for at the first shocke they had broken one of their troupes: yet for all that when the Thes- silians sawe their enemies passe through them, they closed themselves togither againe, & charg- ged vpon the Persians, who by reason of their onset giuing, and for that they thought them- selves sur of the victorie, became cleane out of order, and were ouerthowne with great slaug- ter. The Thessalians had herein a great aduan- tage, by reason that the Persians besides that they be armid themselves, haue their horses al-

so barbed with plates of Steele, which was the cause they could not on the onset, or retyre be so quicke as the Thessalians were: for by their celerite, wherein the feate of horsemen chieflie consisteth, they had ouerthowne manie of them before they could turne their horses about. Whē Alexander understood that his men preuailed of their enemies on that parte likewise, he was bide to followe in the chase, which hee durst not doe before he knew the battaile to be clear- ly wonne, and the enemies repulsed on all sides. Alexander had not about him aboue a thousand horsemen, with whom he slew innumerable of his enemies. For who is he y in an ouerthowne or chase can number men? Those fewe Macedons did drive the multitude of their enemies before them like sheepe, and the same feare that caused them flie, staied them likewise in their flying. The Grecians that were on Darius side vnder their Capitaine Amintas (which sometime had bee in great authoritie with Alexan- der, but then against him) brake out from y rest, and marched away in order of battaile. All the rest fledde diuers waies, some directly towardes Persia, and some by pathes and priuie waies es- caped by the mountaines and the wooddes. A fewe there were that recovered their forraer campe, which they could not defende anie time against the Macedons that were victours, but the same immediately was wonne, beeing a- boundant of all riches, of golde and siluer, ap- pertai-

pertaining not onely to the wars, but to all voluptuousnesse and excesse : which riches whiles the souldiers violently spoyled, they strowed the waies full of packes and fardels, which they would not touch, in respect of the couetous desire they had to thinges of greater value. But when they came unto the women, as their timentis was most pretious, so the more violently they plucked them away, and their bodies were not free from their lust and enforcement. The campe euerie where was full of tumult and lamentation, as chaunce fell to ech one. The licentiousnes of the victors was such, that their crueltie raged vpon all ages and kinde of creatures, and no kinde of mischiefe wanted among them. There might haue beeene seene the variablenes of fortune, when they which had prepared Darius paullion with all kinde of delicate and rich furniture, reserved and kept the same for Alexander as for their olde maister. For the Macedons had left that vnspoyled according to thir auncient custome, which are euer wont to receive their king whē he is victorious, into the kings paullion that he hath vanquished. The mother and wife of Darius that were there taken prisoners, moued all men to cast their eyes & inward contemplation towardes them, wher of the one deserued to be reverenced for the maiestie that was in her, and for her age, and the other for the excellencie of her beautie, which thorough her misaduenture was nothing stay ned.

ned. She was seene embracing her little sonne in her armes, not yet of the age of vi.yeres, born as inheritour to the dominion whch his father newly had lost. There lay also two young virgins in their grandmothers lap, euen then mariageable, which then languished and lamented not so much through their owne priuate sorrow as for the dolorousnes of the old woman. About the mother and the wife were a great number of noble women, that pulled their haire, & tare their clothes, without respect what appertained to their estate. Who vnmindfull of the fall Darius wife and his mother were come unto, called them still by the name of Queens, with such other titles of honour as they did before. They all forgetting their owne miserie, were diligent to enquire the fortune of the field, and what successe the battaile had whre Darius was. For if hee were aliue (they saide) they coulde in no wise think themselues prisoners. But he by the chaunging of manie horses, was by that time fledde farre away. There were slaine of y Persian footmen a hundred thousand, and ten thousand horsemen. And of Alexanders company on 504.hurt, and 32.footmen, and a 150. horsemen killed. So great a victorie was gotten with so small a losse. Alexander that was wearied with pursuing of Darius, when he perceived y night to drawe on, and that there was no hope to overtake him whome he followed, returned into the Persians campe, whch a little before his comming

comming was taken by his men. That nighte he made a banquet to such as he accustomed to ral, for the hurt of his shoulder, wherof the skin being but sinaly perished, letted him not to keep companie. As they late at meate, sodainly they heard a pittifull crie with a straunge howling & lamentation, that put them all in great feare: In so much that the bande that kept the watch about the kings pauleon, fearing it to be the beginning of some great matter, began to arme themselves. The wife and mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken prisencers, were the cause of his sodaine feare, by lamenting of Darius, whom they supposed had bee slaine. Which opinion they conceived thorough one of the Cunuches, which standing before their tent doore, sawe a souldier carie a parcell of Darius diademe, which he a little before had cast from his head. When Alexander vnder stod their errorre, he wept (as it was said) to consider Darius misfortune, and the womens affection towards him. And for their comforte sente to them one Mithrenes that betraied Hardes, who was expert in the Persian tong, but yet considering that the sight of him being a traitor should but increase their sorrowe, sente a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to them howe they were deceived, and that Darius was aliu. He came towardes the tent where the women were, with certaine men in harnessse, and sente woode before, that he was come thyther front

from the King. But when such as stode at the tent doore saue armed men comming, supposing their errand had bee to murther their mistresses, ranne in to them, and cried out that their last houre was come, for the men were at hand that were sent to kill them. The seruants therefore that neyther durst let Leonatus in, nor keepe him out, brought him no aunswere, but remained quietlie to see what hee woulde doe. When Leonatus had long taried at the doore, and saue none came forth to call him in, he left his men without, and entred amongst the women. Whose comming vnto them before hee was admitted, was the thing that feared them most of all. The mother therefore and wife of Darius fell downe at his feete, requiring him y before they were slaine, he would suffer them to burie Darius after his countrey maner: which last obseruaunce perfourmed, they were content (they saide) gladly to suffer death. Leonatus assured them that both Darius was aliu, and that there was no harme towardes them, but they should remaine in the same estate they were in before. When Sisigambis heard those wordes, she suffered her selfe to be lifte vp from the grounde, and to receive some comforde. The next day Alexander with great diligence buried the bodyes of such of his owne men as could bee found, and willed the same to be done to the noble menne of the Persians, giuing license to Darius mother to burie so many as shce lifte, after

after the custome of her countrey. She perfourmed the same to a fewe that were nerfe of her kinne , according to the abilitie of her presente fortune, for if she would haue vsed the Persians pompe therein , the Macedons might haue enuied it, which beeing victoress, vsed no great curiositie in the matter . When the due was performed to the deade , Alexander signified to the women prisoners, that he himselfe would come to visite them , and causing such as came with him to tarie without, he onely with Ephestion entred in amongst them. The same Ephestion of all men was molte deare vnto Alexander, brought vp in his companie from his youth, and most priuie with him in all things. There was none that had such libertie to speake his minde plainly to the king as he had, which he vsed after such sorte, that he seemed to doe it by no authoritie, but by sufferance. And as he was of like yeres vnto him , so in shape and personage hee did somewhat exzell him . Wherefore the women thinking Ephistion to bee the king, did fall downe and worship him (as their countrey manner was to doe to kings) till such time as one of the Eunuches which was taken prisoner, shewed which of them was Alexander. Then Hysigambis fell downe at his feete, requiring pardon of her ignorance, for so much as she never did see him before. The king tooke her vp by the hand, and said : mother, you be not deceived, for this is Alexander also. Which his humi-

litie

litie and continencie of mind, if he had continually obserued to his latter daies, he might haue beeene thought much more happier then he was, when y he hauing subdued al Asia from Hellaspont to the Ocean Sea, did counterfeit the triumphs of Bacchus. Or if that amongst the rest of his conquests, he would haue laboured to con quere his pride and his ire , beeing vices invincible. Or if in his dronkennes he would haue abstained from the slaughter of his nobilitie , and not to haue put to death those excellent men of warre without iudgement , which helped him to conquer so many nations : But at this time the greatness of his fortune had not yet altered his nature, though afterwardes hee coulde not beare his victories with that vertue he did win them . Then hee behaued himselfe after such a manner, that he exceeded in continencie and compassion, all the kinges that had beeene before hys time. He entertained the two Quenes w^t those virgins that were of excellent beautie, so reuerently, as if they had beeene his sisters. He not onlie abstained from all violation of Darius wife, which in beautie excelled all the women of her time, but also tooke great care and diligence , y none other should procure her to any dishonour. And to all the women he commaundered their ornamentes and apparell should bee restored. So that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former estate , sauing onely the assured confidence that creatures wante in miserie.

F. S.

G. W. J.

Whiche thinges considered by Sisigambis, shee said vnto the king : Sir, your goodnesse towards vs doth deserue, that wee shoulde make nolwe the same praier for you, that wee did sometime for Darius, & we perceiue you woorthy to passe so great a king as hee was in felicitie and good fortune, that abound so in iustice and clemency. You vouchsafe to cal me by the name of mother and Quene, but I confesse my selfe to be your handmaid. For both I conceyue the greatness of my estate past, & feele that I can beare this present seruitude. It lyeth onely in your handes howe we shall bee dealt withall, and whether you will make vs notable to the world, through your clemencie or crueltie. The King comforted them all he might, and willing them to bee of good cheare, tooke Darius sonne in his armes. Thereat the childe was nothing afraid, hauing neuer seene him before, but tooke and embraced him about the necke. Hee was so moued with the constancie of the child, that he beheld Ephestion, and saide : Oh I would that Darius had had some parte of this gentle disposition. When he was departed from thence, hee caused threecaultars to bee made vpon the Riuere of Pyramus, and there did sacrifice to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerua, and so went forwardes into Syria. He sent Parmenio afore vnto Damasco, wheras Darius treasure did remaine : who vnderstanding by the way that Darius had sent one of his nobles thither, fearing that for the
smal-

smalnes of his owne number the Damascens would keepe him out, determined to sende for a greater power. But by chaunce one Mardus fel into the hands of the horsemen, that he had sent before to scour the Countrey, which beeing brought before Parmenio, deliuered him the letters y the Capitaine of Damasco had sent to Alexander, and besides the letters, added of hymselfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and his treasure should bee deliuered to him at his arriuall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certain of his men for his sure keeping, and ther opened the letters, wherein it was conteined, that Alexander in all hast should send one of his Capitaines thither with a small power. Whiche thing knowne, he sente Mardus backe againe to Damasco, with certaine to accompanie him, but he escaped out of their handes, and came to Damasco before daye light. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had laide some ambushment for him, and therefore durst not go an unknowne way without a guide. Yet notwithstanding, vpon the confidence hee had in the felicitie of his Prince, tooke peascantes of the countrey to conduct him the way, which the iij. day brought him to the Citie of Damasco. The capitaine doubting the credence should not bee giuen to his letter, pretended to mistrust the strength of the towne, and made countenance as though he would sile awaye. By the spring of the daye, hee caused

I.C.

Darius

Darius treasure (which the Persians cal Gara) with the reste of all his pretious thinges to be brought forth of the Towne, of purpose to betray the same into the Macedons hands. There were manie thousandes of menne and women that followed, a piteous sight to all them that sawe them, sauing to him, to whose fidelity they were committed. For hee to winne him selfe thankes, purposed to deliuere to the Macedons a pray more pretious then all the reste, which were such of the nobilitie as hee had in keeping, with the Wliues and children of great men that bare rule vnder Darius: and besides the Embassadores of the Cities of Grece, whome Darius had lefte in the traytours handes, as in a fortresse to his thinking, of most suretie. The Persians call those (Gangabe) that carrie burthens vpon their shoulders, who hauing the carriace of thinges of mooste valure, when they could not endure the colde for the froste and snowe that sodainly fell, they put vpon them the Roabes of cloth of Golde and purple, which they caried wrapt vp togither with the money, there being no man to lette them: For the aduersarie of Darius caused that base sorte of men to vse a licentious libertie. Those kinde of men seemed to Parmenio at the firste sighte to be no small armie, and therefore regarded not the matter lightly, but gaue exhortation to thole that were with him, as though they shold haue fought a soze battayle, and willed them to put

their

their spurres to their horse, and giue the charge. Which thing perceiued by them that bare the burthens, they fledde away for feare, and so did the men of warre that were with them, by such waies as they best knewe. The Capitaine of Damasco, counterfeyting such feare as other feared in dede, was the cause of all this confusione. The riches of Darius was lefte alone, and leye sparkled abroade ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a number of souldiers, and also the apparaile of so manie great men and noble Wlomen, vessels of golden furnitures for horses, pavilions adorned with regal magnificence and Waggons full of infinite riches. A thinge euē sorrowfull to beholde to the spoilers, if any thing coulde stay the couetousnes of menne. Was it not a pittifull thing to beholde, the riches that had bene gathered togither in so great number of yeares, whiles the state of the Persians stoode in that incredible heighth of fortune, one parte to bee torne with bushes, and an other drowned in the mire, it beeing so great besides, that the handes of the spoylers could not suffice for the spoyle. When the horsemen had ouertaken them that fledde, firste they founde divers Wlomen halyng of the small chiloren, amongst whome there were fourre Virgins, the daughters of Ochus, that reigned nexte before Darius. They before that time had suffered a chaunge of costume, when the state was altered

The third booke supplied

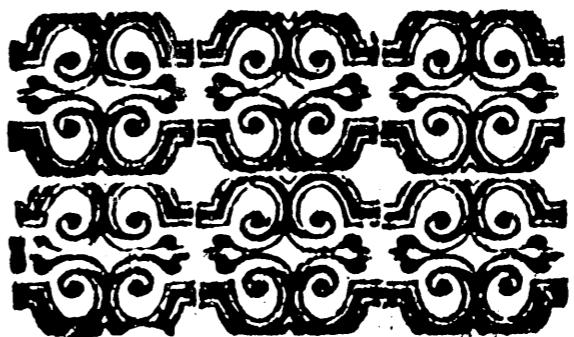
from their fathers line. But this aduenturie was much more grieuous vnto them. There was in the flocke of the wife of Artaxerxes, the daughter of Darius that was Darius brother, and the wife of Artabasus which was of the head house of Persia, with hys sonne also called Iionesus. The wife and the sonne of Farnabasus were also taken; to whome Darius had committed the charge of all the Sea coastes, and with them the iij. Daughters of Mentor, the wife, and the Sonne of the noble Capitayne Memnon. There was scarcely anye house of the Nobilitie of Persia free from that euill aduenture. There were both Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrarie to the league betwene Alexander and them, tooke Darius parte. Amongest the Athenians Aristogiton, Drypides, and Leuertes, were of most notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians the chiefeſt were Periſſus and Onomacrides, with Damamys and Callicratides. The ſumme of the coyned money there taken, was two thousand threſcore talentes, and of malſy ſiluer ſiae hundred talents. Beside thirtie thouſand menne, and ſeven thouſande beaſtes that carriede burdens on their backes. But the Goddes did persecute with due punishment the betrayer of ſuch a treaſure. For one whome hee had made priuye to the matter, pittying therein the estate of his

of Quintus Curtius.

39

his Prince, bid ſlea the traytour, and brought his head to Darius. A comforte not vnapte for the time to the betrayed king. For thereby hee was both reuenged of his enemie, and perceiued that the memorie due vnto his estate, was not growne out of all mens harts.

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THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF QVIN-
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Darius which a little before was Lorde of so great an armie, and that came into the field carried aloft vpon his chariot, more like to triumph then to fight, fled by the places then waste and desert which he before had filled with his infinite numbers of men of warre. There were but few that followed him: For neither they fledde all one way, nor such as followed could keepe pace with him that so often chaunged horses. At length he went to Uinchas, wher he was receiued of iij. **S. Greckes**, which conducted him to the riuier of Euphrates, thinking all such his countries to be lost, in the which he could not preuent Alexander by haste making. Parmenio was appoyn-
ted gouernour of Siria, and to be the keeper of the treasure & prisoners which hee tooke at Damasco. The Sirians could not at the first beare the newe gouernment, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres, but as they reuolted, they were straightway subdued, perfour-
ming all that they were appointed to doe. The Isle of Grade, was yeelden to Alexander, where-

of

of Strato was king, that had in subiection all the Sea coast, with diuers of the Iland coun-
tries, who submitting himselfe, Alexander re-
moued to the citie of Marathon. There he re-
ceiued letters from Darius, that put hym in
great choler, because they were so arrogantly
written. The speciall point that moued Alex-
ander, was for that Darius writing himselfe
king, did not vouchsafe to giue him that title,
but did write rather by way of commaundement
then of request, profering for the ransome of his
wife and children, so much money as Macedon
could receive. For the superioritie (he sayde) he
put it to his choyse, to try it by the sworde if hee
list. But if he would be better aduised, he wil-
led him to be content with his owne enheritage,
and so he would toyne in amittie with him, and
become his friend, in which point he was ready
to enter into treatie. Alexander did write to him
againe after this manner: Darius whose name
thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vpon the
Greckes inhabiting on the coast of Hellespont, and vp-
on the Ionians whch be Grecke cities, passing from
thence the sea with a great army to make war against
Greece and Macedon. And also king Xerxes thy pre-
decessour came to subdue vs with infinite numbers,
which being vanquished in a battaile on the Sea, left
notwithstanding Mardonius behynd him in Greece,
to destroy their cities and burne their countreis. It is
manifest besides, that Philip my father was slaine by
such as were corrupted thereunto with your money.
Ye undertake alwayes vniust warres, and occupying
armies, goe about for all that to circumuent men with
treason. As thou of late, hauing such number of men
in thy owne army, diddest procure my death with the
promise

promise of a thousand Talentes. I am not thereforee the beginner of the warres, but repulse such iniurie as was profered me. In doing whereof (through the helpe of the gods which fauour alwayes the right) haue brought the moze part of Asia vnder my subiec-
tion: and having ouercome thee in battayle by force of armes, there is no cause that I should graunt thee any thing, which hast not obserued towards me the law of armes, yet if thou wilt come and submit thy selfe, I promise thee that I will deliver both thy mother, wife and childdren: for both I know how to get the victory, & how to vse such as I ouercome, but if thou fearest to commit thy selfe to vs, I will giue thee safe conduite to come frely. In the rest when thou wri-
test vnto me, remember that thou wriwest not one-
ly to a Kyng, but also vnto hym that is thy Kyng.
He sent this letter by Thersippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the Citie of Biblon was yelded vnto him. And so came vnto Sidon which was a Citie of great nobilitie, by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the buil-
ders. The same was vnder Stratos dominion, supported by the power of Darius, who yeilding more by the constraint of the people, then of his owne godd will, was thought vnworthy to reigne there. Alexander made a graunt to Ephestion that he should make such one kyng, whom the Sidon thought most worthy that e-
state. There were diuers noble young men in that Citie that had familiaritie with Ephestion, of whome he purposed to haue chosen one king, but they refused his offer: affirmyng, that none might enjoy that dignitie, except he were descended of the bloud royall. Ephestion wondered at the magnamitie that was in the,

in despising the thyng which other sought for by sword and fire, and therefore sayd: continu-
you still in that vertuous mynde, which be the first that haue understanding, how much bet-
ter it is to refuse then to receiue a kingdome.
Chuse you therefore such one of the bloud roy-
all, that may remember he hath receyued the
rule at your handes. But when they sawe di-
uers gaping for it, and for the greedinesse they
had to reigne, fell to flatteryng of suche as
were neare aboute Alexander, resolved that
there was none more meete for that dignitie,
then one Abholominus, who beynge of the an-
cient bloude of the kynges, for pouertie was
enforced to dwell in a small graunge without
the Citie. His honesty was the cause of his
pouerty (as it is to many other) and beynge
occupied in his daily labour, heard no noyse of
the warres that troubled all Asia. They of
Inhome we spake of before, came into his gar-
den with garmentes to apparell hym lyke a
kyng, and found hym waedyng of his ground,
Inhome they saluted kyng, and sayde: You
must make exchaunge of the vilenesse of your
apparell, with these riche robes we here pre-
sent vnto you: Wasse the bodye that is nowe
soule and filthie, take vpon you the heart of a
kyng, and in this Fortune whereof you bee
worthie, shew the same moderation and con-
tinencie you doe vse presently. And when you
shall sitte in your Regall seate, having in your
handes

handes power of the life and death of your people, do in no wise forget the estate yee were in when ye tooke the kingdome upon you, nor yet for what purpose ye did receive it. The matter seemed to Abdoluminus like a dreame, and asked them if they were mad that would mocke him after that maner. But when he saw them affirme by othes the thing to be in earnest, he washed himselfe, and receiuing the garment which was of purple and gold, went with them into the palace. The same (as is wont in such a case) did notably runne abroad of this matter. Some fauoured the cause, and some did disdaine it; but such as were rich, did reproue his powertie and base estate to such as were neare about Alexander, whiche caused the king to sende for him, and when he had long beholden his behaviour, sayd: your personage doth not disagre to the fame of your lineage. But I desire to knowe with what patience you did sustaine your powertie. I woulde to God (quoth he) I could beare my prosperitie in like case now when I am a king. These handes did get that I desired, and having nothing, I lacked nothing. His wordes caused Alexander to conceiu of him a maruellous opinion, so that he gaue unto him not only the riches, stuffe, and furniments appertaining to the king before, but also many thinges that were taken from the Persians, adding to his dominion all the countrey neere about the Cittie. In the meane season Amintas with foure thousand

sand Greekes that escaped with him out of the field, fled to Tripolis, where he embarked, and sayled vnto Cypres: thinking the world to bee such then, that every one might enjoy that hee could get, like as it had beeene his owne inheritance. His purpose was to go into Egypt, thinkeing there to become enemy both to Darius & Alexander, and to waigh with the world, according as the tyme should alter. To bring therefore his souldiors to hope well of his enterprise, he declared how the gouernour of Egypt was slaine in the battell, and that the Persians left there in garison were but a small number, of litte force, and without any head. He shewed how the Egyptians vsed to rebell against their gouernours, wherefore they were sure to be received as friends. So since necessitie (quoth hee) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our first hope, we must now thinkes that thinges to come shall be much better then our present estate. They all agreed with one voyce, that he should lead them where hee list. Whereupon thinking good not to pretermite the occasion whiles the hope was white in their hearts, conueyed them into Egypt, and entered the hauen at Pelusium, vnder pretence that hee had bene sent thither by Darius. When he had gotten Pelusium, he set forwardes towar des Memphis, at the fame of whose comming, the Egyptians being a light nation, and more apte to make a stirre then to maintaine it, when it

is once begunne, ranne to him out of al townes and villages, with entent to destroy all y Persians. But they notwithstanding the feare they were in, did not leauue the defence of the countrey, but fought with the Grecches, and were put to flight. After that victory Amyntas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey thereaboutes, that they left nothing unspoyled. Whereupon Mazeches, though hee perceiued his souldiours much amazed with the feare of their late ouerthrow, yet when he saw his enemies scattered abroad and without or- der, for the pride they had conceiued of their vic- tory: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the citie, and in setting vpon their enemies, recover againe that they had lost. Which advise beyng good of it self, by good handling, tooke most fortunate successe. For they slew at that tyme both Amyntas and all his company. This pu- nishment he suffered for the offence committed to both princes, being neither fearefull to Alex- ander whome hee forsooke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius capaines which escaped from the battaile at Isson, gatheryng together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could leauy in Cappado- cia and Paphlagonia, did attempt to recover agayne the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldiours out of the garisons to send vnto Alexander: yet

he

he so little esstemed his enemies, that he dou- ted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persias received there the lyke fortune they did in other places: which attempting the fight in thre sun- dry countreyes, were vanquished in them all. At the same tyme the name of the Macedones which Alexander had sent for out of Grece, mee- tyng Aristomenes (whom Darius had appoin- ted to make warre vpō the coast of Hellespont) tooke and drowned all his shippes. Farnabasus Darius Admirall, hauyng exacted money at Milesium, and set a garison in Scio, passed in- to the Isle of Andros with an hundred shippes. And from thence he went to Syphnus, and putting men of warre into all the Ilandes, ex- acted of them money. The greatnesse of the warre that was in hande betwene two of the most puissaunt Princes of Asia and Europe, did drawe both Grece and Crete to armes. Agis the king of Lacedemon, gathered together viij. thousand Grecches that were come home out of Cilicia, and moued warre to Antipa- ter that was the gouernour of Macedone. The Cretians followyng sometyme one part, and sometyme an other, receyued one while gari- son of the Macedones, and another while of the Lacedemonians to lye amongst them. But those warres were of no great importaunce. For all mens eyes were fixed vpon the warres that were in vre betwene Alexander and Da- riush, whereupon all the rest did depend.

The

The Macedones had subdued all Syria & Phenice, Tyre onely except, which beyng the greatest and most notable citie of all that countrey, shewed that they esteemed themselues worthy rather to ioyne with Alexander as friends, then to become his subiectes. For when he was come neare vnto them, and encamped vpon the maine land, which is deuided from their citie with a small armie of the Sea: They sent to hym by their Embassadours a crowne of gold for a present, with great plenty besides of victuals for his army. He received their giftes as from his friends, and gaue gentle answeres vnto the embassadours: but he shewed himselfe much desirous to make sacrifice vnto Hercules (whome the Tyriās especially worshipped, and the Macedon kinges supposed themselues to bee descended of him) beyng admonished thereunto (as he sayd) by an Oracle. The Embassadours made answer: that there was a temple of Hercules without their citie in the place which they call Phaletiron, where as he might doe sacrifice at his pleasure. At those wordes Alexander coulde not refraine his ire, wherunto he was much subiect, but fell in a rage: I perceiue now (quoth he) because ye dwel in an Iland, ye trust so much in the situation of your city, that ye despise my land powēr. But I will shorly do you to understand, that ye dwel vpon the maine land, and bring you in such case, as your Iland shall not helpe you: and therefore trust to it, that if ye receive me not in, I will enter by force.

When the Embassadours were dismissed with this

this answere, such as were neere about þ king, perswaded them that they shold not exclude him, whom all Syria and Phenises had receyued. But they had conceiued such a confidence for that their Citie stode in the Sea, deuided lxxx. furlonges from the maine land, that they vtterly determined to abide the siege. That Sea of theirs is much subiect to the Southwell wynd, which made at euery storme the wauers beate so high against the shore, that it would not suffer the Macedons to make any worke for the ioyning of the mayne land to the Citie: it beyng scarcely possible to work any thing there, when the weather was most caulme. The first worke that the Macedones began, was by and by thowten downe with the behemencie of the Seas that were driven by the winde. Nor they could make no Pole so strong within the Sea, but that it was washed away & brought downe by the beating of the wauers. And when þ wind blew streinably, it would bring the seas cleane ouer the worke. There was another difficultie no lesse then this. For by reason that the walles were inuironed about with the deeppnesse of the sea, they could raise no engine to shote but a far off out of ships, nor there was not any ground about the Citie, whereupon ladders myght haue bene raysed agaynst the walles, or approche made vnto them by lande. Alexander had no ships, and though he had had some, and would haue coueted to bring them to þ walles,

yet by reason of the unstablenesse of the water, they might with shot easely haue beeene kept of. But amongst the rest of other things, the Tiri-
ans were wonderfully encouraged by the com-
ming of the Embassadores sent from Carthage,
to celebrate a yeerly sacrifice, according to their
custeome. For the Tiriains being the builders of
Carthage, were since that tyme had in venera-
tion of them as their parentes and first founders.
These Embassadores exhorted them in any wise
to abide the siege, and promised them shortly
ayde, which they alleaged might easily & soone
be done, forasmuch as at that tyme all the seas
were ful of the Carthage fletes. Upon this har-
ting, they determined to abide the extremitie,
and placed their engines vpon the towers & the
walles, deuiding their armour amongst y youth
of the citie. The artificers, whereof the city had
great plenty, were deuided into workehouses, to
make all such thinges as were necessary for the
warres. There were devised certaine instru-
ments wherewith they might pull downe the
workes that their enemies made, called Harpa-
gōs, and also crowes of iron named Corui, with
all other things that might be iuuent for the
defence of cities. But a strange thing is re-
ported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge
and blowen in the fire, the same was scene to be
full of droppes of bloud. Which wonder the
Tiriains did interprete as a token of god for-
tune towardes themselves, and as a significa-

tion

sion of destruction towardes their enemies. A
like thing was seene amongst the Macedones.
For when a certaine souldour was breakyng
of his bread, droppes of bloud appeared therein.
Wherat Alexander beyng astonied, Aristan-
der that was most cunnyng of all the diuiners
of their religion, did interprete thus the mat-
ter. If the bloud had appeared outwardly, then
it had signified euill Fortune to the Macedons,
but in as much as it was found within, it be-
tokened destruction to the citie they went about
to get. Alexander considering his nauy to bee
farre from him, and that a long siege shoulde bee
great impediment to his other affaires, sent of-
ficers of armes unto the citie to perswade thent
unto peace, whom the Tiriains against the law
of nations did drowne in the Sea. Their vnusse
death stirred Alexander so much, that he then
utterly determined to goe forwardes with the
siege. But before he could make his approche, it
was of necessitie for him to make a Peere or a
Mole, whereby they myght passe from the
mayne lande to the Citie. But in the ma-
kyng thereof there entered great dispaire into
all mens heartes, considering the deepenesse of
the Sea, which they sawe not possible to bee fil-
led scarcely by any divine power. For they
thought no stones so great, no trees so high, nor
any countrey to haue such plenty as might suf-
fice for the building of a banke in such a place,
considering the sea remained alwaies troubled.

G. y.

And

And the narower the place was betwene the citie and the land, so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldours to what effect him pleased, declared how that Hercules appeared unto him in his sleepe, and gaue him his hand, proferyng to be his capitaine and his guide for the enterance of the Citie. Thereunto he added the killyng of his Embassadours, whereby they had violated and broken the lawe that all nations obserued, and that there remained but onely one Citie which stayed his victory. Thereupon he deuided the worke amongst his capitaines, that euery one might apply his owne band, and so put the worke in vre, when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plenty of stones at hand of the Mines of the olde Citie where Tyre stode before, and for the making of boates and towers, timber was brought from the mount Libanus. The worke did grow from the bottome of the sea like a mountain, but not yet brought to the high water marke. And the further the Piere was wrought from the lande unto the sea-ward, so much the sooner the sea did swallow vp the substance of things, wherof the same was made. While the Macedones were thus about their worke, the Tirians would come about them in smal vessels, & give them wordes of reproch & scorne: as they were now become goodly men of warre, that would be made pioners and cary burdens like beastes vpon their backes.

backes. And they asked the also if they thought Alexander to be greater then the god of the sea. But their reprove did not hinder but encrease the cheeresfulnes of the souldours in their payne and trauaile. In so much the Mole in a shor space surmounted aboue the water, and encreasing much in breadth, approched neere unto the Citie. Then the Tirians seeing the hugenesse of the worke, in the increase whereof they saw themselves deceipted, little thinking that it would haue growen to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Peere, and did draine the souldours with shot from their working, & because it lay in them to bring their boates sodainly forwards, and returne sone againe, they hurt many of the Macedones without danger to themselves, enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall to their owne defence. For remedy whereof, and to auoide their enemies shot, they were compelled to stretch out beastes skinnes vpon poles like sailes, and set those betwene them and their enemies. And besides, at the head of the Peere they raised vp two Towers, from whence with shotte and casting of dartes, they kept of the boates that came about them. On the other side, the Tirians would land vpon their boates far out of the sight of the campe, and kill such as were caryng of stones. The peasants besides of Araby, did set vpon certaine Macedons that were scattered abroad in the Mount Libanus, where they slew and tooke diuers.

G. ig.

That

That was one cause whiche moued Alexander to deuide his armie. And least he might seeme to remayne idly about the siege of one Citie, he appointed Herdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the worke he had in hande, and went into Arabia with such part of his power most apte for his purpose. In the meane season the Tirians prepared a great shipp laden with stones and grauell behynd, so that the foreparte fleted aboue the water, which shippes amoineted ouer with pitch & brimstone, they brought sodainly by sayling and force of Dares vnto the Peere, and there remayning, the Mariners set the Shipp on fire, and then leaped into the boates which followed after for the purpose. The shipp thus set on fire so inflamed the wood worke pertaining to the Peere, that before any rescue could come, the fire had taken the Towers of the Peere, and all the rest of the workes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, sawe the matter take such effect, they put betwixt the Timber and other voyde places, both firebrandes and all such thinges as might giue nourishment and encrease to the fire: so that the towers and all the rest beyng on a flame, many of the Mace-dones were consumed therewith, and the rest forsooke their armour and threw themselves into the Sea. Then the Tirians that were more desirous to take them aliue to kill them with staves and stones, did so beate them on the hands

handes as they were swimmynge, that for wearenesse they were glad to be taken vp into their boates. The whole worke was not consumed with fire onely. For it chaunced also the same day a terrible winde to rise, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with such violence vpon the Mole, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knitte the worke together, began to lose and leauue their hold. Then the water that washed through, brake downe the Mole in the middest, so that the heapes of stones which were before sustained by the timber and earth cast betwixt them once broken asunder, the whole worke fell to ruine and was caried away into the deepe Sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, and scarcely found any remayne or token, that any such worke had bene. In that case (as it is euer vsed in thinges that chaunce euill) one laid the fault vpon an other, wher in dede the violence of the Sea was the cause of all. Alexander beganne to make the Peere agayne after a new sort, the head thereof lying into the weather and the winde, and not the open side as it did before: So that the forefront alwayes defended the rest of the worke lying behynde. Hee increased also the breadth thercof, to the intent the Towers might bee builded in the middest of the Peere, whereby they should be least subiect to the enimies shotte. Whole trees were put into the Sea with their toppes and braunches,

G. iij.

and

and after great stones thrown vpon them, And ouer those a new course of trees and stone againe, by which devise this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the Macedones were busie to bring their worke forwards, so the Tiriāns were as diligent to inuent all such things, as might give impediment to their proceeding. Their chiefe practise was for a number of them to enter into the sea a farre of out of the Macedons sight, and so come dyuing vnder the water till they came vnto the peere, where with hookes they would pull vnto them the branches of the trees that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other substance followed after into the deepe. For the trees beyng discharged of their burden, were easilie drawen away, and then the foundation failing, þ whole Worke that stayed vpon the trees, fell to ruine. Amongst these impediments Alexander stood in great perplexite of mynd, doubting whether he shold continue the siege still, or els depart his way. When he was in this imaginatio, sodainly his nauy arriued from Cypres, and Cleander also with such scouldours as he had brought out of Greece. And having to the number of 180, shippes, deuided them into two battels, whereof he committed the one vnto Pythagoras the King of Cypres, and to Craterus, and tooke charge of the other hymselfe, committynge hys owne person in a Galley called Cinqueme, the which had five Dares on a banke.

The

The Tiriāns durst not aduenture the sea fight, although they had a great nauie, but set al their Gallies in a front before the wals of their citie, which the king assailed and put to distresse. The next day the Macedons with their ships enironed the Citie round about, and did beat down the walles, specially with such engines as they call Arietes. But the Tiriāns straight-way reinforced and made vp their walles againe with stones that lay at hande, and raised vp an inward wall round about within the Citie, which might be their defence if the other failed. But their destruction approached on euerie side, the Mole was wrought within the cast of a darte, and the shippes gaue the approach round about the walles, so that they were overlayed both by sea and by lande. The Macedons had devised to ioine their Galleys two and two togither, in such sort that the foreparts mette close before, and the hinder parts laye farre off one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaining betwixt puppe and puppe, they made bridges with mastts and maine yardes laid betwixt Galley and Galley, fast bound togither to carie scouldiers vpon. When they had put their Galleys in this order, they sette forwards toward the Citie. And having rampired the pyles for defence of the scouldiers that were behind, they stood in their Galleys, and did shoothe and cast darteres against their enemies, without any perill or daunger to them selues. It was midnight when they had com-

G.v.

maun-

maundement to set forwardes after the maner. As the shippes were approaching on all partes, and the Tyrians stode astonied for feare and desperation: sodainly the skie was overwhelmed with dimme cloudes, and sodaine darknes tooke away the lighte. Then the Sea by little and little wared terrible and rough, the wynde blewe raysing vp the waues, and did beat the shippes one against an other: the wyolence whereof burst asunder the bandes and graspers wherewith the Galleyes were fastened togither. Which done, the brydges crashed and clewe asonder, and with the souldiers that stode vppon them fell into the Sea. There was great confusion, for the shippes entangled thus togither, could by no meanes be gouned in such a tempest, the souldiers disturbing the seafe of the mariners, and the Mariners giving impediment to the office of the souldiers. Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the shuppe maisters that were wont to commaund, then for feare of death were directed by other: But at length by force of rowing the Galleyes recovered the shore, the more parte of them beeing broken and forne. It chaunced at the same time thirtie Embassadours to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed howe the Carthagens were so assayled with warre at their owen dores, that they could

by

by no meanes sende them succour. In so much as the Siracusians were burning in Assrike, & had encamped themselues vnder the very wals of Carthage. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their speciall truste, but deliuered vnto those Embassadours their wiues and their children to carrie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if the things which were most deare vnto them were remoued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian which in an open assembly declared that Apollo (whome the Tyrians greatlie doe worship) had appereed to him in his sleepe, seeming to him that hee had forsaken the Cittie, and transformed the Mole that the Macedons had made, into a great wood Herevpon (though the authour were of small credite) yet forasmuch as men in feare bee apt to beleue the worst, they tyed faste Apollos Image with a golden chaine, and bounde faste also the Aulter of Hercules (to whome the Cittie was dedicate) thinking by detaining of the one, to keepe still the other. The Carthagens in times past had brought that image from Siracuse, and had placed it in the head Cittie, out of the which they were descended. For their custome was to adorne Lyre with such spoyles as they had taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it self. They at that time would also haue beeне authours vnto the Tyrians for the remouing of an olde sacrifice that had beeне omitted manie

many yéeres, wherein they vſed to offer vp to Saturne a free borne childe. Which beeing a ſacrilege rather then a ſacrifice, the Carthagens received of their firſt founders, and ſtill obſerved the ſame, till their citie was deſtroied. And but that the auncient men by whom all things were gouerned, did withstand it, this wicked ſuperſtition had taken place, which nature and humānitie doth abhorre. The neceſſitie that was hanging ouer their headeſ, beeing more effectuall then any arte or ſcience, practiſed not onely ſuch thinges as were accuſtomed for deſences, but alſo founde out that was never inuentioned before. For to y disturbance of the ſhips that approched the walles, they deuized long rafters, to the which they fastened grasperls of Iron, and great hookes like Hithes, which lette downe with ropes by an engine, eyther fare the ſhippes, or deſtroied the men. They inuentioned alſo Targets of metall to be made fire hot, in the which they put burning ſande, and ſcalding lime, and then poured the ſame downe vpon the Macedons that came neere the walles, beeing a miſchiefe that they feared moſt aboue al other. For when the hot ſande entred betwene y haſnelle and the bodie, there was no meanes to auoide it: and where it touched it burned to the bones, ſo that they were enforced to thowte away their haſnelle, and feare away all things they had vpon their bodies. Thereby they became ſubiect to bee hurt by their enemies, and were

were not in caſe to endamage them again. But ſpecially the grasperls lettē down (called Coz, ni) tooke violently awaie many of the ſouldiers that were in the ſhips. Alexander ſeeing the obſtinate deſence of the Tyrians, was wearie of the matter, and determined to raise his ſiege, & go vnto Egypt. For conſidering in how ſhort a ſpace he had subdued Asia, it greued him to bee detained ſo long about the walles of one Citie, whereby he omitted the occaſion & oportunitie of greater thinges in the meane ſeafon. But hee was as much abhamed to departe without his purpoſe, as to remaine there, and leauē other things vndone: indging that if he ſhould leauē Tyre after that ſort, as a witnes that he might be withſtoode, it ſhould much impaire his fame, wherewith he had gotten more then with force. And it chaunced at the ſame time a monſter of an exceding bignes to appere as well in y ſight of the Tyrians as the Macedons, which lying vpon his backe aboue the water, came towards the Mole, and when he hadlifted vp hymſelfe at the head of the Mole, diued vnder the water againe, ſometime appering aboue, and ſomtime hidin hymſelfe vnderneath, and when he came neere the walles of the Citie, vaniſhed out of ſight. The ſighte of this monſter rejoiced both parties, the Macedons interpreting the ſame to be ſent them as a guide for their direcſion to furniſh out the worke, and the Tyrians diuining that Neptune in reuenging the uſurpaſion that

the Macedons had made vpon the Sea wond shortly destroy the woork that they had made, in such like sort as he had taken away the monster. They vpon their owne imagination conceived such a gladnes, and prognosticated to themselues such good fortune, that they fell to banqueting and drinking. And when they were well charged with wine, at the sun rising they set garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into Galleyes, not onely with hope of victorie, but with a triumph made before hande. It chaunced at the same tyme that Alexander had conueied his nauie to the contrary side of þ Cittie, and left vpon the shore thirtie of the small vessells, of the which the Tyrians caught y. and put the rest in daunger of distressing, vntill such time as the king hearing the alarme, sette forwardes with his nauie towardes that parte where the crie was heard. The first Galley of þ Macedons that came neere them was a quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which whe the Tyrians espied, they came against her with two Galleys crosse upon her side: Whereof the one strake full with her Sparne, with whome the quinquereme graspered, & the other which was loose at libertie fell vpon her contrary side. But least betwene them two she shold sustain some damage, one of Alexanders Tryremes came to the rescue with such violence, that the maister of the loose Galley was stricken into the Sea. When the Tyrians sawe that Alexander

ander was come himselfe, and more of his ships at hande, then with strength of Dares, & great difficultie, they sette their Galley that was entangled loose againe and at libertie, making towardes their hauen with all the haste they might. Alexander immediately pursued them but when hee came to the hauen hee coulde not enter, but was beaten of with shotte from the walles, yet he did take and drown the more parte of their Galleyes. After this aduenture he rested his souldiours two dayes, and then willed his shippes to bee brought forwardes, and the engines in them, to the intente that by assayling the Tyrians on all sides, hee might put them in extreme feare. Alexander with a wonderfull courage, not without great perill of hys person, mounted vp into the toppe of a tower that was made in a shippe, and there knowne by his apparell and rich armour, was chieslye laid at, and shot to from all partes. He wrought wonderfull feates with his owne personne, for both with his pyke hee slewe divers that stode at defence, and afterwards fought hand to hand with his sword and his Target, throwing divers downe from their defence, for the Tower wherein he foughte ioyned harde to the walles. By that tym the engynes called Arietes wyth much beatyng had striken downe the walles, the Nauie was got with in the hauen, and certeine of the Macedons had wonne the towers. The Tyrians then oppressed

opprest with so manie miseries at once were cleane discomfited: Some fled for succour vnto the temples, some did shut their doores, taking that kinde of death they liked beste. And other ran vpon their enemies to sell their lives deere. But the more part got vp into the tops of their houses, and from thence did cast downe hympon their enemies whatsoeuer came to their hands. Alexander commaunded all to bee slaine without exception, sauing such as fled into the temples, and willed the houses to bee sette on fire. Though that were proclaimed throughout the Cittie, yet there was none bearing armour that would sauue themselues that way. For as the women and children filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, ready to abyde the crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians were the occasion that manie were sauued who seruing in the warres amongst the Macedons, and entering the Cittie with the reste, were mindfull of their affinitie with the Tyrians (Agenor being builder of both their Cities) and conveyed manie into their shippes, which they sent priuily vnto Sidon. By that meanes fifteene thousand escaped the crueltie of y sword. The number of them that were slain may partly be conjectured, in that there were found dead within the Cittie sixe thousand of such as bare armour. The kinges wrath towardes the Cittie made the sight dolozous vnto the victors. For two thousand whome the furie of the slaughter

had

had left alive, were afterwardes hanged vpon crosses along the Sea coast. The Embassadors of the Carthagens were sauued, but they threathened to make warre against them, from y which he was then letted by other busynesse he had in hande. Thus Tyre was taken the viij. moneth after it was besieged, a Cittie notable to the posteritie, as wel through the antiquitie it was of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had suffered. It was builded by Agenor, and manie yeres was maister of the Seas, not onely neare thereabout, but in all places where as their nauies came. And if we list to credite y same, that Cittie was the first which either taught or learned letters. They builded Cities, and put in them inhabitors throughout y more partes of the world, both Carthage in Affrike, Thebes in Boecia, and Gades in Spaine vpon the Occean. It is to bee thought that by reason of their free course through all Seas, and by visiting manie straunge countreyes, they had occasion to chose out seates to place their youth in, whereof they then abounded. Orelas as some write, the inhabitours wearyed to dwell there by reason of many Earthquakes, were compelled of force to seeke out straunge dwelling places. But after many casualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the destruction newly renewed, and all things growne againe through long peace, remaineth nove vnder the defence of the Romaines clemencie. About the same time A-

H.j.

lexander

Alexander received letters from Darius, where in at last hee was contented to name him king. His request was, that Alexander woulde receive his daughter Hapteyne for his wife, with whome he offred in dower all the countrey betweene Hellespont and the riuere of Alyss; and woulde reserve to himselfe onely such kingdomes as lay from thence Eastward. And if peraduenture hee shold sticke to recelue this offer, he willed him to consider that fortune is not wount to continue long in one estate, and that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater envy doth followe them. It was to be doubted, (he saide) least he exalted himselfe through some bayne and childish affection, like as birds vse to doe, whose naturall lightnes conuey them to the starres. For there was nothing more difficult in so young yeres, then to beare well such height and greatness of fortune. He willed him also to consider, that there remained yet manie countries that he had not touched, & that he shold not alwaies mete him in streights, having to passe the Riuere of Euphrates, Tyger, Araxes, and Hydaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his dominion, and when he shold come vnto the playnes hee shoulde bee ashamed of hys small number. Hee put hym in remembraunce to weigh howe long it shold bee ere he could passe Media, Hircania, Bactria, and the Indians that bordered on the Ocean sea. And likewise the Hogdians, and Tacholians of whom men haue none other knowledg then of their name, with other nations lying towards the mount Caucasus, & the riuere of Canais. Though no man shold lette him nor offer him battayle, yet hee shoulde growe in age (hee sayde) before hee coulde passe so many landes. In the latter ende, hee aduised him to call him no meze forwardes, for he woulde come scorne enough, and that to his destruction.

Alexander made aunswere to those letters by the messengers that brought them, in effect: that Darius offered to him that was none of his own, & made a proffer to give that he had already lost. For Lydia, Ionia, Aeolides, and the coast of Hellespont, which he appoynted in power, were already becom the rewards

rewardes of his victorie. And as for lawes and condicions, those were wount to bee giuen and appoynted by the victours, & received of such as were ouercome. And if he were ignorant in whiche of those two estatē he were in, that he shold come of, and aduenture the battaile once again. For he was not ignorant (he said) before he passed the sea, howe Lydia and Cilicia were ouer small rewardes for the making of such a warre. But his determination was ever to subdue and bring vnder his subiection, both Percepolis the chiese Citie of his kingdome, and also Bactria and Echatania, with the vttermost boordes of the Orient. He coulde flie nowhere but he was able to followe: and therfore counsaled him that he shold leue to feare him wyth Ryuers, which had learned howe to passe Seas.

Thus the kinges did write one to an other: and in the meane season the Rhodyans wolded their Citie and their hauen vnto Alexander, who committed the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the Countrey about Lyre vnto Philotas: Andromachis was made Parmentio his deputie in Caele Syria, from whence Alexander minding to sette forwards to the rest of his journey, commaunded Ephession that with his nauie hee shold saile along the coast of Phoenices, and so he came with his whole power to the Citie of Gaza. About the same time there was solempne triumphes and plaies at Isthmos, accustomed to be celebratyd with the assemblie of all Grece. In the councell (as the sittes of the Greekes be sodaine) they decreed to send ry. Embassadours vnto Alexander for the carrying vnto him a crowne of golde in gratifying the victory he had wonne, and the actes hee had done for the

sauegard and liberties of Grece, and yet a litle before they harkened how the same went, and were ready to bend that way that fortune inclined. Alexander visited not in person all such countreys and Cities as refused to do their obediece vnto him, but made conquest of them by his deputies. For Cales tooke Paphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, and Balachrus ouercame Darne Darius lieutenant, and wan Miletum. Amphitous & Egilochus with a nauie of a C. & Ic. ships subdued all the Ilands betweene Asia & Achaia. And also by the conuent of the inhabiteres gotte Tenedon, which alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio, but that Pharnabasus Darius deputie having intelligence of the matter, did firste apprehende all such as were of this Macedons faction, & committed the Citie with a small garrison to Appolodines and Athenagoras, y were inclined to the Persians. Alexanders capitaines for all this continued the siege of the Citie still, not so much in trust of their owne strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Citie. In which point they were not deceived. For through a sedition which did arise betweene Appollonides and the capitaines of the menne of warre, occasion was ministred to the Macedons to enter the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entred, the the Citizens which before had deuised to rebell against the Persians, tooke parte wyth Amphit-

Amphiterus and Egilochus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slaine, and Pharnabasus with Appollonides and Athenagoras taken prisoners. There were ry. galleyes taken with their souldiers & rowers, besides xxx. ships, and vessels of Pyrates, with three thousande Greeks that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Greeks furnished vp their own bands, and put the Pyrates to death, bestowing the rowers in their owne galleyes. It chaunced that Aristonicus the usurper of Methina, ignorant of any such matter as was chaunced in the forepart of the night, came with certaine Pirates shippes to enter into the hauen, whom when the watch demaunded what he was, he saide, he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabasus. They aunswere he was at rest, & could not then be spoken withall, but it shold be lawfull for him (they said) beeing their frennd to enter into the hauen for that night, and speke with him when it was day. Aristonicus was y first that entred, and the Pirates followed him. But whiles they placed their shippes, the watchmen drewe the chaine againe ouer the hauen, and then called vp suche as laye there neare about, so that none of them durst resist, but were all taken prisoners, and so deliuerned to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, which was kepte by Chares of Athenis, with a garrison of two thousand Persians: but when he was not able

to endure the siege, he yielded vp the Cittie, with composition to haue their lynes saued, and to depart in sauagarde vnto Ambros. Darius dispairing of peace, which hee had procured both by his letters and Embassayours, gaue his minde to assemble a newe power, and freshlye to reue the warre. Wherefore he commannded the Capitaines and rulers of his men to assemble at Babylon, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, shoulde come thither with all the power he could make. The Bactrians be the moste hardiest people among those nations, vnciuill men, aue much abhorring from the delicatenes of the Persians. For by reason that they border vpon y Scottians, whiche be a warlike nation, they are accustomed to liue by theft and bee conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspected of treason, that hee would not be content with the second place, put Darius in great doubt: Who hauing an inkling that hee aspyed to bee king, feared onely his treachery, hauyng no other waye to bring his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes hee could to obteyn knowledge where Darius was become, and into what countrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence, by reason of a custome among the Persians, whiche are leuit with a maruey- louis fidelite to keepe close their princes secrets: in the vteringe whereof, neyther feare of death, nor hope of reward, can cause them bring forth

a woyde. This was a goodly discipline that the kinges there had of old time vsed amongt their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauishnes of their tong, whiche is there more greevously chastised then any other crime. Nor there is not in those partes any goodnesse looked for at a nies mans handes, that hath not the gifte of secretnes, wherof nature hath giuen a facilitie in man. This was the cause that Alexander was ignorant of all thinges that his enemies did, & therfore continued his siege before Gaza. Batis was capitaine there, who was a man of notable fidelite towards his Prince, which with a smal garrison defended the Cittie that was of a large compasse. Wherefore Alexander perceiving the aduaantage of the Situation, sette manye Mynes in hande. For the lightnes of the ground made the worke easie, hauing neither rockes nor stones to giue any impediment. They began their Mynes on that side, where they with in could not destroy them. And to auoid the suspection of any such worke in hande, caused an approach to bee made to the walles, with towers that hee had made of timber. But the ground would not serue for their carrying and remouing, by reason of the losenes of the land, wherinto the wheeles sank, and was the cause that the iointes of the towers wakke asunder. About the conueiance of them manie were hurt, and as much trouble they had in withdrawing of them, as in setting them forwardes.

When he perceiued hee coulde not preuaile by that meanes , hee retired his menne againe for that tyme. But the nexte day he enuironed the Citie rounde about to give the assaulte in euerie parte at once , and before he retourned out of his Campe , he made sacrifice after his custome manner , requiring the aide of the Gods. It chaunced as hee was so doing , that a Rauen flying by , lette fall a clodde (which she carried in her clawes) vpon the kings head , where it brake and resolued in pieces . And the Rauen flew vnto the next tower , where her feathers were so entangled with pitch at her lighting , that she could not flie awaye , but was taken of the standers there abouts. This was thought a matter worthie wher-upon the diuiners shoulde consulte. For hee himselfe was not free from the superstition of such thinges. Therefore Aristander to whom he gaue most credit , did interprete the same to bee a signe of the destruction of that Citie , but yet there was some perill (hee saide) appering towardes the kinges person : For which cause hee perswaded Alexander that hee shoulde not goe about any enterprise that daye. Though it greued him much y one citie shoulde be a staye and impediment vnto him for his free passage into Egypt , yet he obeyed the pronosticators , & caused all his men to retire. The enimies tooke courage of their departure , thinking feare to haue ben y cause why they came not forward failed out of the Citie , and set vpon their tayle.

But

But they were more fierce in the beginningyng of the skirmish , then constant in the maintaining of the same. For when they saw the Macedons turne about , they staied and pursued no further. Alexander hearing the alarum , and remembryng nothing the peril that was prophesied vnto him , at his friends request put on his harneis (which he was seldeome accustomed to do) and resorted thither where the skirmish was most whote. There he was knownen by a certaine Arabian that was one of Darius souldiours , which tooke vpon him a desperate enterprise to kill Alexander , and therefore making his pretence to be as a fugitiue from the Persians , kept his sword secret vnder his target , and fel down on his knees before him. Who iudging that he had fledde to him for succour , willed him to bee received amongst his owne men. But the Arabian therewithall stakke at y king with his sword , which he by a little stepping aside , auoyded from his throate , and cut of the Arabians hand that mis-sed of his stroke. Alexander then iudged that hee had cleane escaped the peril that shoulde haue chanced to him that day , but (as I thinke) destiny cannot be auoided : for whiles he was eager to fight amongst the foremost , he was striken with an arrowe , which passed thorowe his Corselet , and did sticke in his shoulder. Phillip his phisition did plucke it out , and great abouundance of bloud did follow , whereof every man was afraid , for so much as they neuer salwe an arrow

arrow passe so farre thorowe any armour before. But he never chaunged countenance nor colour, but causing þ bloud to bee stanched, and his wound to be wrapt vp, continued still in the skirmish amongst the foremost, either suffering or dissemblyng his paine and dolour. But when the bloud that was stayed for the tyme brast out agayne, and the wound which for the newnesse grieued him not much, began to swell and rankle as the bloud waxed colde, then he began to Faynt and fall downe, and was taken vp by such as were next him, and caried into his tent. Betis that perceyued this, supposing him to be slayne, retired vnto the Citie againe with great ioy and triumph. But Alexander's wound being yet unhealed, he caused a mounte to be cast vp as high as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the Myners. But they within made a countermure as high as the olde walle: yet that coulde not stretche to the heighth of the towers made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes of the city were subiect to shotte. But a mine whereat the wall was ouerthrown, and a breach made wherewith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the towne, wheras Alexander pressing on amoungest the foremoste aduerterously, had his legg hurt with a stone. That notwithstanding, he mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wound yet closed) & fought amongst the foremost, being in a great fury, that

in the siege of that one citie, he had received two woundes. Betis that had fought notably, and received diuers hurts, was forsaken of his own men, and yet notwithstanding, maintained still the fight, and had all his armour embred with his owne bloud and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round about, then Alexander which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, sayde vnto him: Betis, thou sha't not dye as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer torment may bee inuented, thinke that thou shalt suffer them. For all his wordes there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beheld the kyng with an arrogant countenaunce, and would not answere him one worde. Then Alexander sayde: see you not how obstinate he is to holde his peace? hee would not kneele, nor once desire mercy. But gloryng shall breake his silence, if nothyng els can doe it. Thus his fortune altering his nature, changed him into straige maners, & turned his wrath into woodnes. For he causynge cordes to be put through Betis fete whiles he was alise, did drawe him about the city with horses, gloryng in that he did counterfeit Achilles (of whō he was descended) in afflicting of his enemy. There were slain of the Persias & Arabias x. M. & the victory was not unbloudy to the Macedones. This siege was not so famous thowgh the nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daunger the king was in: Which

king hadde to passe into Egypt, sent Amyntas with tenne Gallies into Macedon to leue more souldiers. For though he were alwayes victor in prosperous battailes, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so much to the souldours of those countries he had subdued, as he did to his owne nation. Egyptians be a people that always were offended with the increase of god fortune of the Persians, who in their gouernement ouer them, vsed much pride and couetousnes. And therfore seeking all occasions to revolt, had received Amyntas, which came to them rather by way of treatie then by any force: & now specially at Alexanders commyng plucked vp their spirites, and assembled a great number to meete him at Pelusium, where they iudged hee wold enter. The seuenth day he remoued frō Gaza, he came to that place in Egypt, which now is called Alexanders campe, from whence he sent his army unto Pelusium by the lande way, and he himselfe with a chiose band of men was conueied thither vpon the riuere of Nile. The Persians durst not abide his comming, being in doubt that the Egyptians would revolt. And therfore when Alexander dwelle neare vnto Memphis, where Astaces Darius lieutenant was with a power of men of warre, he caine ouer the Riuere to meete Alexander, and yelved himselfe, delivred him viij. C. talents, with all the riches belonging to the king of Persia. Frō Memphis he passed vpon the same Riuere vnto the

the inward partes of Egypt, and set a stay and order in the gouernement of the countrey in such sort, that he changed nothing of their lawes and customes. Which thing once brought to passe, he had a great desire to visite the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. But it was declared vnto him that þ way he had to goe was not passable with any great number, and that those ought to bee trimmed, meete to iourney without baggage or much cariage. The countrey he had to trauaile thorow, was said to be spred ouer all with baraine sand, which once put in an heate with the sunne, would burne their feete in such sort, that it should be intollerable for thē to iourney. And had to contend not onely with the heate & want of water, but also with the rouling sand, which was so deepe, and would so sinke vnder their feete, that it should be great impediment vnto their trauaile. All which difficulties the Egyptians set forth to be greater then they were in dede. But Alexander, for the desire he had to exceed mans estate, was so feruently bent to visite that famous Oracle of Jupiter, whom either he beleued, or coueted that other should beleue to be his father, that nothing could stay him in performing that enterprise. Therfore with such as he had appointed to accompany him in the iourney, passed by water vpon Nile, til he came to the Meare of Meotes. The embassadours of the Cireniās came to him thither, and brought him presents, whom he gently entertained, assuring

suring them of his friendship. And that done, went forwardes in his voyage. The first and the second dayes trouaile seemed tollerable, not beyng yet come to the barraine and wilde wildernes, and yet the ground they passed on was but unsafrisfull and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were couered ouer with deepe sande, they then looked and sought a farre off with their eyes for the land, euern as men be accustomed to doe when they saile in the maine sea. For they could not iudge themselves on land, where they never saw tree nor any appearance of habitation or haunt of men. And waſfer there was none to be found in that dry and burning ſand. and ſuch as they had brought with them in bottels upon camels backes, was conſumted and ſpent. Besides, the ſunne was ſo hote that it dried and burned vp all thinges. When they were afflieted after this manner, whither it were by the will of God, or by chace, the cloudes ſodainly ouerwhelmed the ſky, and ſo shadowed them, that it was great comfort to ſuch as were forwearied with the heate, though they wanted water to drinke. But to ſupply their lacke therein, there fell by and by a great ſhower, which every man (for the great deſire they had to drinke) gaſped to receive with open mouth. When they had trauailed four dayes in paſſing of theſe wild deserts, and were come neare unto the place of the oracle, there ap‐peared a great ſwarme of crowes flying lowe before

before the troupe, and when the hoste marched ſoftly, they ſate downe vpon the ground, and ſometyme flew forwardes, as they had bee guides to the we unto the army the way. At length they came unto the place conſecrate vnto Jupiter, where it was a wonder to ſee in the midſt of ſo wilde a deſert, ſuch a ground ſo enironed on all partes with high trees, deſen ding the heat of the ſunne, and ſuch a number of ſprings running every where: which cauſe the woodes alwayes to looke greene. The Aire there all ſeasons of the yeere is like unto the Spring tyme, holeſome and temperate to liue in. This countrey doth border with the Ethiopes to‐wards the Eaſt, & vpon the Arabies y they call Troglodites vpon the South: whose countrey ſtretched to the red ſea. It coſtirmeth with other Ethiopes that he called Simnos. To‐wards the North lieth a natiō called Nasamōs, who inha‐biting vpō a flat ſhore, be accustomed to liue on ſpoiles of the ſea, & lie alwayes in a waite vpon the coaſt to ſpoile ſuch ſhips as ſuffer wrecke. The people which inhabite about the wood, bee called Ammonians, & dwel in cotages ſcattered abroad. The midſt of their wood closed about w a triple wall, is unto the as a Castle. In the firſt ward is the pallace of their ancient kings, in the ſecond their wiues, children & concubines were lodged, in which place the Oracle of Jupiter is alſo. And the third is appointed a place for the men of warre. There is alſo an other wood hauiing

The fourth booke

hauing in the middest a spring called the fountaine of the sunne, which in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is cold, and in the euening warme again: so that at midnight it is scalding hote, and as it draweth towardes day, it diminisheth his heate more and more. The same thing that is worshipped for Jupiter hath not the similitude of other images that craftesmen do make for gods, but is very lyke unto the fashion of a Nauel, hauing in the middest an Emerauld set about with perles. When any answere is required, the priests carrie the same in a ship of gold, that hath many plates of siluer hanging on both sides. The matrones and the virgins follow after singing a rude song after their countrey maner, whereby they beleue to obteine of Jupiter to shew his Oracle manifest and true. When Alexander was come unto the place, the eldest of the priests which came to meeete him, saluted him by the name of Jupiters sonne: for so (he sayd) his minde was that hee should be called. Whereupon Alexander forgetting the state of his mortalitie, sayde: that hee both did receive and acknowledge the name. Then he demaunded further, if the empire of the whole world were apointed to him by destinie. There the Prophet prepared before to flattery answered: that the whole worlde should come vnder his obeisance. After that he demaunded whether all such had suffered death that murthered his father. The priest answered, that his

father

of Quintus Curtius.

55

father could not be harmed by the treason of any man, but he saide: that all Philips killers wer put to death. And one thing he added more: that he should be invincible till such tyme as he should depart to the gods. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offered unto the i-doll, and gaue great giftes unto the priests. He licenced also his friendes that they might consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would deuaund. Yet they enquired no further: if it were Jupiter his will, that they should worship their king with diuers honours. To thē it was answered: that if they honoured their prince being victor as a god, it shoud be acceptable unto Jupiter. If he had with iudgement wayed the Oracle according to the veritie, hee shoud haue wel perceiued the untruth that was therin: but whom fortune hath brought to beleue in her, she maketh them many tymes more desirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not onely suffered, but also commanede himselfe to be called the sonne of Jupiter, and whiles hee went about to encrease the fame of his actes, he did corrupt and deface them through such vaine titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to be gouerned by kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of liberly the other natiōs, did withstand him more arrogantly in affecting of his immortallity, then was either expedient for him or thē: but these things shalbe declared in tyme conuenient: For now I will procede in the rest

J. j.

of

of his doinges. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and come to the marsh of Ma-
reotes, situate neere vnto the Isle of Pharos, he wied the nature of the place, and was at the
first determined to build a Cittie within the I-
sland. But afterwardes considering the Isle
not to bee large inough, chose out the grounde
where Alexandria is nowe (called by the name
of the builder) containing all that grounde be-
tweene the Meare and the Sea, the which was
in compasse as the walles went lxx. furlonges.
When hee had taken order for building of this
Cittie, leauing such behinde him as he had ap-
pointed for the perfourmance thereof, departed
vnto Memphis. Hee had a desire (not unreaso-
nable if it had bee in time conuenient) to haue
visited both the inward partes of Egypt, and al-
so Ethiopia. And the affection he had to vewe
antiquities, and the famous places of Memnon
and Tyton, had neere drawne him beyonde the
bounds of the sunne. But the warres he had in
hande beeing of much more moment then anye
such idle peregrination, gaue him no time to ful-
fill his phantasie. Therefore he appointed Aesti-
lus a Rhodian, and Peucestes a Macedon, to þ
gouernaunce of Egypt, assigning to them foure
M. souldiers for defence of the region, and gaue
Pelymeni xx. Gallyes to keepe the mouth of
Nile. He made Appolonius ruler of that part of
Affrike, whiche ioineth vnto Egypt, and Cleoni-
nes receiver of the tributes in both countreyes.

This

This newe Cittie was sone replenished with a
great multitude, for commaundement was gi-
uen to all the Cities thereabouts, to sende inha-
biters vnto Alexandria. It is said that when the
king (according to the Macedons custome) vsed
the ceremonie of sweeping barly, at the making
of the walles, that the byrdes came and fedde
therevpon: which being taken of manie for an
vnluckie token: it was aunswered by their di-
uiners, that there shold be great resort of stran-
gers to the Cittie, and that it shold give nou-
rishment to many landes. As the King wente
downe the River of Nyle, Hector (Parmenio
his sonne) desirous to follow him, was drowned
for the vessell sunke that carryed him, being pe-
stered with ouer many men. He striued long w
the streame: but his garmentes gaue impedi-
ment to his swimming, so that his breath was
neere gone before he could recouer þ shore, wher
for want of succour he died. Whose infortunate
chaunce Alexander tooke greuously, as one that
did beare him speciall fauour, and therefore cau-
sed his body to be honourably buried. The death
of Andromachus Lieutenant of Siria, whome
the Samaritans had burned, was the encrease
of Alexander's sorowe, for the revengement
whereof he made all the haste he myght, and at
his comming into Samaria had the authours
of the acte deliuered into his handes, whome he
put to death, and then placed Memnon in An-
dromachus roome. Hee deliuered into the

Methimians handes, Aristonicus, and Crisolas
us, that had usurped amongst them, whom they
after many greuous tormentes did hang ouer
their walles. That done, he gaue audience to
the Embassadours of the Athenians, the Rho-
dians, and the Sciots. The Athenians did gra-
tifie vnto him his victory, and required that such
Greekes as were taken prisoners, might be re-
stored to liberty. The Rhodians and the Sciots
demauaded assistance of some garison: he gran-
ted to them all their requestes, and restorynge to
the Mytelens all their pledges, encreased their
territorie and dominion in respect of the fidelitie
they shewed vnto him, and the money they had
employed in the warres. He gaue honour also
according to their deseruings vnto the kinges of
Cypres, which, revolted from Darius vnto
him, and had ayded him with shippes at the siege
of Tyre. Amphoterus his Admiral had commis-
sion to drive the Persias out of the Isle of Crete,
but specially that he should ridde the seas of the
Pirates, which troubled and spoiled all the I-
lands, whiles these two princes conuerted their
powers one against an other. When he had gi-
uen order to all these things, he did dedicate to
Hercules at Tyre, a great standing peece, and
xxx. bowles of gold. That done, he set his whole
minde and care vpon Darius, causing it to bee
proclaimed that every man should set forwards
towards Euphrates. But Darius understanding that his enemy was gone through Egypt
into

into Affrike, stode in doubt whether he should
stay about Mesopotamia, or withdraw into the
inward partes of his kingdome: iudging that
he should be able to worke with those farre na-
tions in bringing of them forwards to þ warres,
that his lieuetenat should not be able to do. Yet
when the same had published, and he understood
by assured aduertisement, that Alexander was
returned out of Egypt, and fully resolued to fol-
low him with all his power into what countrie
so euer he shoulde go, he then gaue order that the
force of all the farre nations shoulde drawe to-
wards Babilon, knowing the stoutnes of his e-
nemy he had to match withall. Thither resoy-
ted both Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians:
for the power of other countries were come thi-
ther before. And hauing the double number of
men that he had before in Cilicia, prepared ar-
mour for them with diligence, whereof many of
them had want. Both the horsemens and the ho-
ses were armed with plates of Steele. Such as
before had no weapons but dardes, had swordes
and bucklers giuen to the more. And to encrease
the power of his horsemens, he deliuered many
horses to be broken amongst þ footemen. He had
prepared also CC. wagōs set with hookes, which
in those countries were esteemed things of great
force, & iudged to be of a wonderful terror to the
enemy: they were made w great long pikes stick-
ing out before, & with swordes set ouerthwart
on both sides. The wheeles were also ful of iron

I. iy. pikes

pikes right forth, and of great hokes both by-
ward & downward, wherewith all thing was
cut asunder that came in their way. When his
people was thus furnished of armour, & had pro-
vided sufficiently for the wars, he remouued fro
Babilon, and keping the Riuere of Tiger on his
right hand, & Euphrates on his left hande, ouer-
spread with his armie all the plaines of Mesopo-
tamia. After that he passed Tiger, and under-
standing that his enemy was comming at hand
first sente Satropaces before with a thousand
chosen horsemen, and afterwards appointed six
thousand to Mazeus, to stop Alexander the pas-
sage of the Riuere. Who had also in commission
to waste & burne all the countrey where he iud-
ged that his enemies shoulde come, thinking to
famish them for want of victuals, considering þ
they had no other prouision but such as they got
by rauine & by stealth: they themselves having
plenty brought both by land, and by the riuere of
Tiger. At length he came to a village called Ar-
bella, which was afterwards famous by reason
of his ouerthrow. There he left the chiefe furni-
ture of his victualles and carriage, and made a
bridge ouer the riuere of Licus, & in five days con-
ueied ouer his armie, as he had done before ouer
Euphrates, passing forwards from thence about
four score furlonges. He came to an other Ri-
uer called Boumello, and there encamped. The
countrey serued wonderfull well for the araign-
ging of his battailes in the large playnes, pas-
sable

sable for horses euerie where, and without stub-
bes, or shorte brush to couer the ground withall,
having so free a prospecte, that the eye might dis-
cern thinges a great way off. And if there ap-
peared anye hillies within the plaine, Darius
caused the same to be cast down, and the ground
to bee made smooth. Such as by conjecture
made reporte to Alexander of Darius power,
could not be credited, for he could not think af-
ter so manie slaine there could be a greater po-
wer gathered togither then he had before. But
he that never doubted any peril, and much lesse
the multitude of men, after the cleuenth encami-
ping, came to the Riuere of Euphrates, ouer the
which hee made bridges, passing ouer his horse-
men, and afterwardes his footemen. For Maze-
us that was sent against him with six thousand
horsemen to let his passage, durst not encounter
with him. When he had continued there a few
daies, not onely to reste his souldiers, but also to
conferme their mindes, and to encourage them,
he sette forwardes stoutly against his enemy,
fearing that they would haue retired backe into
the inwarde parts of Persia, whither he shoulde
haue beeene enforced to followe by waste places
and wilde deserts. Therefore the fourth day ha-
passed by Arbella, and came to the Riuere of Ti-
ger. All the countrey beyond the Riuere was on
a smoke, newly sette on fier by Mazeus, who
burned all thinges where he caine euuen as hee
had been an enemy. Alexander at þ first by reaso-

of the darkenes of the smoke, stayed for feare of embushments. But when they which were sent to scour the countrey, reported that all thyng was cleare, he apointed a few horsemen to proue the passage of the riuier, who found the deepenes at the first entrie to come to the horsebreast, and in the midst of the stremme to the horse neckes. There is no riuier in all the East part of the world, that runneth so violently, which besides the waters of other riuers that doe run into it, driueth downe stones with the stremme, so that of his swiftnes it was called Tigre, which in þ Persian tongue is so much to say, as an arrow. The footemen therfore deuided into two bands, holdyng their armour ouer their heads, were enclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and so passed till they came in the deepe of the Chanell, without any great difficultie. The kyng was the first amongst the footemenne that passed ouer to the further syde, who with his hande (seeing his voyce could not be heard) shewed the shalowe place unto the Sholdiours. But they had much payne to keepe their syng by reason of stones, whereupon they stumbled, and of the violence of the water that tooke their steete away. Such as caried burthens on their backs had the greatest trauel, which not being able to stay themselues by reason of the trouble of their carriage were borne downe by violence of the stremme. And whyles euery man went about to recover

againe

againe his owne, there fel greater strife among themselues, then they had with the stream. And the heapes of fardels that sterted euerie where vpon the water bare downe manie. The King cried to them þ it was sufficient to keep their ar mour, and let the rest goe, promising to recom pence euerie man. But they neither followed his counsaile, nor did as he commaunded them. For besides the noyse that was amongst them, feare filled their eares, as they were swimming and wading through the water. At length wher the stremme was most shalow they came forth, there beeing nothing miscarried or wanting amoungst them all, sauing a fewe fardels. If their enemies had made but a proffer against them, they might easly haue been put to distresse. But Alexander's continual god fortune turned then his enemies away from him. With which fortune hee passed the Riuier of Granike, when so manie thousands both of horsemen and footmen kept the passage against him. After that sort hee overcame the multitudes of his enemies in the straits of Cilicia. Though his boldnes was such that it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had done his part, and sette vpon them as they were passing the Riuier, he might easly haue put them to distresse, beeing unarmed and out of order. But after the Macedons had ar med themselues (beeing then too late, hee began to shewe himselfe with a thousand horsemen.

J.V. When

When Alexander perceiued the small number that came against him , hee caused Ariston the Capitaine of the Peonians to giue a ful charge upon them. The horsemen that day notably behaued theselues, but in especiall Ariston, which with his speare ranne Satropases the chief capitaine through the throte, & pursuing him in to the midst of his troupe, threwe him from his horse, & cut of his head, which to his great commendation he brought and threw downe before the king, Alexander taried there two daies, and against the morning caused warning to bee given by proclamation for his setting forwardes. But in the first watch of the night, the Moone suffred Eclipse, which loosing her brightnes, afterwards became as red as bloud , & therewith waxed dim and darke. The straungenes of this matter did strike a religious feare amongst the Macedons, whereof proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they fell into a murmure & grudging that they should be brought forwardes after such a manner against the will of the Gods, into the uttermost boundes of the earth , whereas they were not able to passe the Rivers, nor could not enjoy the accustomed use of the Elementes, finding nothing but waste groundes and wilde deserto : all which was done (they saide) for the ambition of one man , for whose vaine glorie the bloud of so many thousandes shoulde bee shedde. He despiseth (quoth they) his country, hee hath forsaken Philip for his Father , and
affected

of Quintus Curtius.

60

affected heauen in his foolish imagination. Whē Alexander perceiued the matter to come to a muttering, hee that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the chiefe Rulers and Capitaines of his men of warre to assemble at his pauleon, and there commaunded the Astronomers of the Egyptians (whome hee iudged to haue most vnderstanding in the Planets) to declare their opinions. They vnderstanding verie well the revolutions of the time, and their appointed courses, knewe that the Moone did euer eclipse, when that either she went vnderneath the earth, or els when her light was blemished by opposition of the sunne, which reason conceiuēd amongst themselues , they accustomed not to teach the people. But affirmed that the Greekes were vnder the aspecte of the Sunne, and the Persians vnder the Moone : and therefore so often as the Moone fayleth of her light, it signifieth great destruction to the Nations vnder that constellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs , they brought in olde presidents of the kinges of Perūa, to whom the Eclipse of the Moone had signified , that the Goddes were against them in fighting of their battailes. There is nothing more effectuall then superstition to gouerne a multitude, which otherwise is without rule, mad, & mutable. But when they haue once conceyued a Religion , though it bee but vaine : they bee more obedient to their diuiners then to their capitaines. Which thing might be
well

well perceiued, when the aunsweres of the Egyprians were spread abroad amongst the people. For they streight waies were remoued fro their dulnes and despaire, and stirred vp to hope and confidence. Alexander therefore that coulde vse the time, and employ his souldiers in their good moode, in the second watch remoued his campe, keeping Tiger on his right hand, and the mountaines which they call Gordieis on hys left hande. By the spring of the daye the scoutes that he sent before to discouer, returned to hym with report that Darius was comming. Then the souldiers prepared themselves to the fight, and marched forwards in order of battaile. But those that discouered for the Persians, were but a thousand horsemen, which keeping the scout a farre of, seemed to the Macedons to be a great armie. The scoutes commonly haue that propertie, tht when they cannot find out the truth they imagine through feare, things that be fals. When Alexander vnderstood the certaintie, hee sent out towardes them a small number of hys owne horsemen: at whose comming they fled, and were partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners. That done, he sent horsemen as wel to discouer further, as also to quench the fire which the Persians had made through all the countrey. For as they fledde away, they put fire in the roofes of their houses, and the stacks of corn, which soone tooke holde aboue, and consumed all till it came to the ground. By extinguishing of those

those fiers, great plenty of corne was found, and abundance of all other things ensued amongst the Macedons. That was a matter that encouraged the souldiers greatly to pursue their enemies. For they doubting least they should burne and consume all such thinges as might serue to their vse: pursued them with all the spedde they could make: wisedome growing of necessitie. For Mazeus which before did burne the countrey at leasure, whē he saw himself pursued, fled away, & left unto the Macedons the more parte untouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drewe towards him, and was come within an hundred and fiftie furlonges, made prouision of victuals, & remained foure dayes in the same place. Darius letters were there intercepted, which he had written to the Greeks, in perswasion either to kill or betray Alexander. He doubted whether he should recite the same letters openly or no, hauing no mistrust of their beneuolence and affection towardes him. But Parmenio dissuaded the putting of any such promise into the Souldiers heades, considering that the committing of such an act consisteth in one mans hande, and that couetousnes never iudged anye thing unlawfull. Hee followed Parmenio his counsaile, and so remoued his campe. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches of Darius wife brought worde how she faynted, & was in great peril of death. For she in very deed was so wearied with continual trauaile of her iourney

ney and care of minde , that she fell downe in a swoyne betweene her mother in lawe, and her young daughter, & so died. Hee had not so soone tolde the tale, but an other came with tivinges that she was dead in daide : whereat Alexander was no lesse sorrowfull, then if his own mother had been in the same case : and weeping no lesse then Darius shold haue done, repaired to the tent wherc Darius mother was sitting by the dead bedie. There his sorrowe renued when hee sawe her lyce prostrate vpon the grounde : who by the chaunce that presently fell, beeing put in remembrance of her aduersitie by past, embrased in his arms Darius y. daughters, a comfort to her in their mutuall dolour, but that she was enforced to comfort them. Her young nepheue stood in her presence, the more to bee pittied, because that for his youth , he yet understoode not the calamitie that was growing towards him. A man woulde haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his owne cause, which lamented, and would receiue no conforte, but abstained from meat, & reserved all honoꝝ to be done to the dead corps, after the countrey custome of the Persians. Worthy he was thereby to receive the due rewarde of such his meekenes and continencie. He had onely seene her once before , which was the day of her taking , and then came not to visite her, but Darius mother. The excellencie of her beautie was no prouokement to him of lust but of glory . Of those Eunuches that were about

bout the Queene, ther was one Tiriothes, which during this mourning and lamentation , esca- ped by a gate that was unwarded, and fled vnto the Persians campe , where he was by the watchmen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe him lamenting and fearing of his clothes , hee was in a wonderfull expectation what his sorowle shoulde bee , doubting what thing he might feare mosse. Thy countenance (quoth hee) declareth that some great mischiefe is happened. Take heed thou concealest nothing from my miserable eares. I haue learned to be unfortunate, and it is often tymes a comfort of a mans calamitie to knowe his mishappe. Is it not the misusing of my wife and children that thou wouldest tell mee ? which is the thing I suspect mosse, and feare to vtter , and (as I be- lieue) is more greuous vnto thē then any kind of torment. Nothing lesse (quoth Tiriothes) the same honour that was giuen to them by your Subiectes , the like is vsed by him that is victourer . But your wife is the cause of my amazement , which is euен nowe dead. When that word was once spoken, there was nothing else hearde but lamentation and howling throughout the campe . And Darius could not be otherwise perswaded but that she was slain, because she woulde not consente to her misuse- ment, & in y. vehemencie of his sorow cried out. O Alexander , what so great an offence haue I com- mitted against thē: whom of thy kindred haue I slain
that

that thou shouldest requite me with this cruelty? Thou hast done it without any prouokement of my parte. But be it so that thou dost moue a iust war against me yet is it thy part therefore to kæpe war with women? Tyriotes therefore did sware by the Gods immortall, that there was no kind of villanie done vnto her, but that Alexader lamented her death and wepte no lesse then he himselfe would haue done. Those wordes did drue him into a further suspition and ielousie, conjecturing that Alexanders behauour therein, had risen vpon the familiar conuersation had betwixt them. Therfore he auoiding all persons from him, sauing only Tyriotes, and leauing his weeping, but yet sobbing for sorowe, saide vnto him: Thou seest nowe Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place: tormentes streightwaies shall bee brought before thee. I request thee therefore, if any reverence of thy prince remaine within thy heart, tell mes without compulsion þ thing þ I desire to know and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age that he is, & hauing her in his handes, that he shoulde not attempt her? Tyriotes offered himselfe to bee racked in triall of the cause, and called the Gods to witnesse, that shee was neuer vsed but chastly and reuerently. At length when hee was once perswaded that his wordes were true, hee couered his face weeping a longe space, and afterwardes (the teares yet distilling downe his cheeke, vncouered hys face, and holding vp his handes to heauen, said:

¶

You Gods that I do worship, I require you chieflie to establish this kingdome vnto my selfe: but if yee haue determined my ruine and decay, then my request is that none may raigne as king in my dominion, but euē he that is so iust an enemy, & so merciful a victor. And therfore, though he had twise before required peace at Alexanders handes, and preuyayled not, but had conuerted all his minde towardes the warres: yet he was then so ouercome with the continencie of his enemy, that he sent tenne of the chiefeſt of his bloud as Embassadours to treate with him upon conditions of peace. Alexander calling a councell, gaue them presence, to whome the eldest spake in this wize.

That Darius hath nowe the third time demanded peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but your iuste and continencie hath moued him. He shoulde not perceiue that eyther his mother, wife, or chidren were prisoners, sauing for want of their comparie, you taking care of their chastities, which remaine on liue like a Father. You giue to them the honour apperteining and suffer them to continue in their former estate. I see that dolorousnes in your face, that I sawe in Dariuss when I parted from him, and yet he doth mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy. And if the care of his buriall had not bene, you had nowe stonde in battayle in readines to fight. Is it any maruell therefore if hee require peace of such a one, that is so friendly disposed towardes him? What shal they need to contend with armes, betwene whom there remaineth no hatred. In his former treatie he offred þ the Riuier of a lig which boundeth vpon Lydia, shoulde bee the confines of your Empire: but nowe he proffereth you in Dower with his daughter to be deliuereſt out of hand all those countreies that lye betwene Helleſpont and Euphrates. For the perfeymaunce of whiche his promise, and for the obseruynge of peace, Octhus his ſonne, now in your poffession shall be the pledge for his parte. His request is to haue his mother and his two Daughters re-

B.i.

Cap

Boxed unto him, for which thre you shall receive thirtie thousand Talents, Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I wold not be so holde to say that this is a time wherin you ought not only to graunt peace, but also to seek for it your selfe. Looke back and behelde what a great thing you leauie behinde you, and forsee howe much it is that you couet before you. Duer great an Empire is daungerous. And it is hard to holde that you be not able to receive. Doe you not see that those shippes which be of exceeding greaenes, can not well be gouerned? Judge that to be the cause that Darius lost so much, because that ouer much is the occasion of much losse. It is more facil to get many things, then to keepe a few. How much more easly do our handes catch then holde still. The verie death of Darius wife nowe doth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shewe mercy as you had before.

The Embassadours were remoued unto an other place, and hee debated in counsell his opinion. It was long before any durst utter what they thought, because they were uncertain how the king was inclined. At length Parmenio spake and said:

My opinion was euer that the prisoners taken at Damasco should haue been deliuered to such as would redeeme them, wherby a great summe of mony might haue been made of them, whiche now remaining in captuite, pester the hands of many a man of seruice. And nowe I thinke most necessary of all, that you exchange for xxx. Talentes of golde, this olde woman and the yong damosels, whiche bee but impedimentes and disturbances to you in your iourneyes. Heere is a rich Realme to be gotten by treaty without any hazard of battaille. If or there was never none before you (quoth he) that was Lorde of all the countrey in length and breadth lying betweene Istor and Euphrates. Hee willed him therefore rather to haue respecte towardes Macedonia, then to looke sowardes towards Bactria and the Indians.

His

His wordes liked not the king, and therfore so soone as Parmenio had made an ende of his tale, he made him this aunswere.

And if I were Parmenio, I woulde rather desire money then glorie. But nowe seeing I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of pouerty, and haue consideration that I am a king, and no merchaunt. I haue nothing wherof I will make sale, and much lesse sel my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuere the prisoners, it were much better to giue them freely, then to raunosome them for money.

Heresupon he called the Embassadours, and and aunswere them in this sort.

Shewe you to Darius that giving of thankes is but waste to a mannes enemie, and let him not thinke that I haue had any respecte to his frendship in those things that I haue done of mine owne clemencie and liberalitie. Her lette him not impute the same in anye wise towardes himselfe, but to the inclination of myne owne nature: and that I contend not against mens calamities, but against the force of mine enemies. I vse not to make warre with women and prisoners, for hee must be armed, to whom I shall shew my hatred. And though it were so in dede, that he meant good faith in his peace asking, yet peraduenture I woulde advise me before I would consent. But seeing that at some time he hath by his letters prouoked my souldiers to betray me, and at other times stirred vp my friends with mony to my destruction: I must pursue him to the uttermost, not as a righteous enmy, but as one that wangeth his thinges by treason. If I should accept the conditions of peace that you doe byring, I should acknowledge him to be victor, whiche liberally doth giue me all that is behinde the Riuier of Euphrates, not considering in what place I speake nowe unto you. Haue you forgotten that I am passed the Riuier of Euphrates, and encamped beyond the bounds ye proffer me in Dower: Dowe mee from hence that I may know the same to bee yours, wherewith you woulde enseale me. He proffereth me his daughter with no greater liberallitie then hee woulde doe to one of his seruautes.

B.ii.

D.iii

Doth he thinke to do me a pleasure, in preferring me to be his sonne in Lawe before Mazeus: Go & shewe this to your king, that both the thing he hath lost, and the thing he hath yet in possession, shall be unto me rewardes of the warre, which warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of battaille we shall fight to morrowe, appoint to ech of vs our limites. Let him knowe, that I came not into Asia to receive, but to give. If he would haue beeene content to haue beeene second person, and not coueted to bee equall with me, I would peraduenture haue graunted his request. But as two Hunnes cannot shine on the earth at once, so likewise such two great kingdomes can not be at one time, without the subuersion of the world. Therefore let him either this day yelde hymselfe, or els prepare against the morrows fight, nor let him not perswade himselfe to haue other fortune then he hath proued already.

The Embassadores replied: that seeing he was resoluued to proceed with warre, he did royally in that he was plaine, and did not send them forth with hope of peace. Their request was therfore that they myght bee dispatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare himself likewise. Wherfore they returned, thei brought word that ther was no way, but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius sente Mazeus out of hande with three thousand horsemen to keepe the passages, where by the Macedons shoulde passe. When Alexander had performede the funeralles of Darius wife, leauing with a small garrison all such as were unprofitable for the fighte, within the strength of his campe, sette forwardes towards his enemies. His footemen were deuided into two battailes, empayled with horsemen on both

both sides, and his carriage wente in the midst. He sent Medinas with horsemen vpon the spurs to discouer where Darius was: Who coming within the view of Mazeus, durst not passe any further, but brought reporte that he could heare nothing but the noyse of menne, and neighing of horse. Mazeus likewise discouered them, & returned backe to Darius, declaring that his enemies were comming: Then Darius (whose desire was to encoster with his enemies in the plaine and open fieldes) commaunded his men to be armed, and deuided them into two parts, whereof the one marched on the left hande, and the other on the right. In the battaile on the left hande, a M. of the Bactrian horsemen had the first place, with the like number of the Dahans and viij. M. Arachosians & Sussians, after which band of horsemen there followed a C. hooked wagons, and behinde them Bessus with an other band of viij. M. Bactrian horsemen, and y. thousand Massagets. The footmen of diuers nations came nexte in order of battaile, not mixed together, but ech countreymen by themselues. Ario-barzanes and Drybates had the gouernment of the Persians, Mardians, and Sogdians. But their charge was deuyded, and Drybates that was come of the seven Persians, and of the bloud of noble kyng Cirus had the rule of the whole. Other nations followed, whose names were scarcely knowne to their owne companie. Cradatus was the nexte, whiche having also viij.

tie hooked wagons, placed a bande of Caspian horsemen before them, and behind them the Indians, and other the inhabitors of the redde sea, rather names of menne then good assistance. This square was empailed with fifty wagons, unto the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioyned. After them followed the menne of Armenia the lesse, then the Babylonians, and nexte the Bellitans, with such as inhabite the Collean mountauns. The Goztuans came next, which sometime followed the Medians out of Cuboia: but at those daies degenerated from their countrey customes. The Phrigians, Caethonians, & Parthians, enclosed the taile. This was the battaile on the left hand. In the battell on the right haunde, were the people of the greater Armenia, the Caducians, Capadocians, Sirians, and Medians, who had fiftie hooked wagons. The summe of his whole armye was xlvi. M. horsemen, and CC. thousande footemen. When they were placed in order of battaile, they marched forwardes ten furlongs, and then were comanded to stay. Whilste the Persians after that maner tarped for their enemies, there fell a sodain feare amongst the Macedons: wher of there appeared no cause, and yet euerie man was armaled, and a secret dread entred into their hartes. The lightening that fell out of the ayre, being in the Sommer season, seemed like fier, and the flames sodainly appearing, were thought to come from Darius campe. If Mazeus
which

which was sent to obserue their comming, had set vpon them whilste they were in this feare, he might haue don them some notable damage. But he was slacke to doe his enterprise, and remained upon the top of an hil, contented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiving the terror that was come amengst his menne, made a signe for them to stay, & gaue order that they shold unarmee themselves, and refresh their bodies: giuing them to understand that ther was no cause why they shold so sodeinly conceiue a feare, seeing their enemies were yet a good distance from them. At length, when he perceyued they had recouered their spritis, hee exhortted them both to receive courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothing more expedient for the case presente, then to fortifie his campe in the same place. The next day Mazeus which had planted himselfe on a high hill, from whence hee might beholde hys enemys campe, either for feare, or else because his commision was but onely to discouer, retourned agayne vnto Darius. Upon his departure the Macedons by and by tooke the hill which he had forsaken, the same beeing of moze strength then the plaine, where they remained before, from whence they might behold their enemies camp. And though the myst which the moisty hilis dyd cast forth, tooke not away cleerly the vse of the prospect: yet it letted them to discerne the situation of their enemies battailes, and their order,

B. iii.

the

The multitude of whom ouer-spread the fieldes, and the noise of such a number filled their eares though they were farre off. Then Alexander began to revolve in his heade, and to debate with himselfe, one while Parmenios opinion, another while his owne. For he was come so farre forth, that he coulde not retire except hee were victozer, without the great destruction of his armie. The multitude of his enemies moued him much in respect of his small number. Yet on the other part, he remembred what great actes he had done w^t them, & how many nations he had vanquished. So that hope surmounting his feare, he thought it most danger of all to deferre the battaile any longer, least desperation might growe amongst his men, and therefore dissembling the matter, caused the mercenary horsmen, and the Piones to passe on before, and deuided his Phalanx (as it hath beeene saide before) into two battailes, and empaled the same with horsmen on both sides. By that time the miste avoided, and it began to ware cleare, the order of their enemies appearing manifelly. The Macedons the whether it were of courage, or for that they were impatient to tarie any longer, made such a shout as menne of warre doe when they ioine in battaile: the like was also made by the Persians. Then the wooddes and valleyss round about rebounded w^t the terrible sound. The Macedons could not abstain any longer, but would haue runne forwardest towardes their enemies.

But

But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his Campe vpon that hill, and so commaunded it to be entrenched about. Whiche worke being spedily perfourmed, he entred into his tent, from whence he might behold the whole army of his enemies hoste. Then the whole fasshion & fourm of the daunger that was at hand, was presented before his eyes: both horsemen and footemen glistered in their bright arnour, and all thinges were prepared with great diligence. He behelde the care of the Captaines in his enimies camp, how they did ride vp and downe to set thinges in order. And diuers thinges which were but bayne in deede: (as the myle of men, the neyning of horses, and the glistering of their armoz) troubled yet y munde that was carefull in the expectation of the matter. Therefore whether it were y he was not fully resolued in his mind, or else to proue the mindes of such as were aboute him, called his frends to consult what was best to do. Parmenio that was the most expert man amongst all the capitains in the feats of warre, thought good not to giue his enimies plain battaile, but rather to sette vpon them in the deade time of the nighte, whereby hee thought they might easily be discomfited: supposing that they amongst whom there was so great diuersitie of customes, and alteration of language, could never assemble well togither, specially when they should be put sodainly in feare in the night time beeing a sleepe: wheras in the day time the shapē

of

of the Scithians & Bactrians, with their rough faces & long haire , besides the hugenes of their bodies should appere terrible. And argued how souldiers were more moued with vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no moment , then with such as were iust causes in deed. He declared also howe their enemies by reason of their great multitude , shoulde bee able to enclose their small number rounde about : and that they shoulde not nowe fighte in the streightes and narrowe passages of Cilicia, but in an open and large plaine. They all in manner agreed to Parmenio his saying : and Polycarpon was of a plaine opinion that the victory consisted in the point which he had devised. The king that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then he thought good, would not checke him agayne, but beheld Polycarpon, and saide.

That pollicie that you advise me, perteineth to stealers and theues : for it is their propertie to worke by sleight and deceite . I will no more suffer that eyther Darius absence, the streightnes of the ground, or the stealth in the night, shall be an hinderance to my glory. I am plainly determined to haue to doo with him in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victorie . Besides this, it is to be considered, that the Persians keepe good watch, and stand arm'd alwaies in a readines to receyue vs, whereof I haue aduertisement, so that they cannot be deceiued that way. Therefoze there doeth remaine no more, but that you prepare your selues to the battaille.

When he had by these wordes put them in a courage, he dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies. Darius coniecturing that his

cwes

enemies would haue done the same thing that Parmenio did perswade , caused the horses to stande readie bridled the whole night, and the more parte of his host to continue armed , and keepe good watch. His campe shone bright with the fiers that were made , and he himselfe with his Capitaines and kinssolkes wente about hys battailes that stode in order and in armes, making iuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, and to the euerlasting fier, that they would inspire vs to them a fortitude of mind, that might answer to the auncient glorie and actes of his predecessours. And shewed if the minde of man were able to conceiue any tokens or signes of the gods fauour or assistance : it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, having alredy striken a sodeine feare amongst the Macedons : which (he saide) might bee seene by their running here and there, by the carrying and casting of their armour. And that the Gods which tooke care of the Persians Empire, were nowe determined to punish those cowardes : Whose Capitaine (quoth hee) beeing of no other sort then the rest, were like unto those wild beasts, which through greedines of the praye that they doe covet, fall into the snares that bee sette for them. The like care was amongst the Macedons. For as though the matter shoulde haue beeene tryed that night, they passed it ouer in doubt and fear. Alexander himselfe (that was never seen in such feare before that time) called for Aristander

to

to make bowes and praiers: who in a whyte garment carrying Verbenes in his hande, with his head covered, wente before the king, calling vpon Jupiter, Minerua, and Victoria. When he had thus perfourmed his sacrifice according to their religion, he returned into his pauileon to rest the residue of the night. Yet could he neither rest nor sleepe, but continually debated wyth himselfe which way he shoulde assaile his enemies. One while he was of opinion to giue his first onset vpon that battaile of the Persians þ should come on his right hande. Sometime hee determined to meet his enemies in the very frōt and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his boode became heauie with trauaille of the minde, and he fell into a sound sleepe. When the day appeared, the Capitaines assembled togither about þ kings pauileon to receiue their charge, where they stode amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wot to call vpon other men, and to reproue such as were slowe or negligent, not to be then stirring when the matter was come to the point of the extreme daunger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but shooke for feare: yet for all that none that were about his person durst attempt to awake him. In the mean season the time past away, and the souldiers might neither put on their armour, nor go in order of battaile,

with

Without commaundement of their head. Then they had thus tarried a god while, Parmenio gaue commaundement they shold fal to meat. At length when the time came, that of necessite they must set their battailes, he entered into the kings lodgynge, and called vpon him diuers times by his name: but when hee could not awake him with his voice, he stirred him with his hande.

It is far forth day (quoth hee) and your enemys come forwards in order of battayle, and your souldiers being yet unarmed, haue no commaundement giuers them what they shall doo. Where is that cheerfulness and courage of yours become, which were woont to stirre vp other men:

Alexander made answeare vnto him.

Thinke you that I could sleepe before that I had rid my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest, and thereupon caused the trumpets to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration that he in such a tyme could sleepe so quietly, It is no maruell (quoth Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victuals. I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seyng he prepareth himselfe to fight: He hath now fulfilled my desire: reforst you so here your charge lieth, and I will straighe waies come to giue order amongst you, and reason this matter afterwards.

He vsed seldom to take his frendes aduyse, when any doubt or danger was at hand. When Parmenio was gone, hee armed himselfe, and came forwardes amongst the souldiers. They seeing him looke so chearfully as they had not done before tyme, conceived by the boldnes of his countenance a certaine hope of the victorie

The

The fourth booke

Then he caused the trenches of his campe to be cast downe, that the souldours might haue frā passage forth, and so did set his battailes in order. The horsemen which they call Agenia, of whome Clitus was Capitaine, were set in the wing of his right hande battaile, to whome hee ioined Philotas and other Capitaines. The last band of horsemen was Peleagers, which went next vnto the square battaile of y scotemen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the phalanx followed the Argiraspides, of whome Nicanoz the sonne of Parmentio was Capitaine. Cenos with his band was appointed to be a relief: Hostes and Lincesta came next in order, and after them Polycaron y had the rule of the strāgers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balacrons. And this was the order of Alexander's battaile in the right warde, whereof Amintas was chief. In the left battaile Craterus had the charge of the Peloponessian horsemen, and with hym also the bands of the Achelians, Locrans, and Moloneonians, and the last troupes were the horsemen of Thessaly, vnder Philip their capitaine. Thus the horsemen couering y scotmen, made the front of the left battaile. And lest the enemies through their multitude shold enclose the battaile about, hee planted a great force behinde for the reliefe of that matter, and set a reliefe also vpon the wings, not in front with the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent y if the enemies attempted to compasse about the battailes

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battailes, that they shold be ready to kēpe the doing. Those that occupied the places of relieve were the Agrians, of whome Attalus was capitaine, and the Archers of Crete ioined unto them. Such as stode in the hinder partes of the battailes, were ordered to turne their faces frō the frontwardes, because that bēing in a readinesse euerie waye, the battayles in euerie place shold be of like force. They which stode with their faces confrariwise were the Illirtans, and the mercenary souldiers, with the Thracians that were lightly harnessed. These his battailes were sette so aptly to be turned every way, that such as stode in the hinder partes could not bee enclosed about, but might towardes eech parte make their front: So the front, the flanks, and the hinder parts were all of like force. When he had set his men in order after this manner, hee gaue commandement that if the Persians shold put forwārds vpon them their hooked wagons wth a crie or noise, that then they shoulde open their battailes, and receive them with silence, not doubting but that they shold passe through without harm doing, if no man did resist them. But if they shold come without anye showte or clamour, that they themselves shoulde make a crye to seare the horse withall, and so with pykes thrust them in on euerie side. They that had the charge of the battailes were commaundered to extende them so much in breadth as they myghte, least by standing ouer cloase,

they

they might be enuironed, and yet not so stretch them so farre out, to leauie the places voide, or thynne in the middest. The cartage and the prisoners (amongst whom Darius mother was) were sette on the toppe of an hill, with a small garde about them. The charge of the leste battaile was committed unto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time & Alexander himself was in the other. When they were come neare togither, one Byon came fleeing from the Persian host in all the halle he could make, and declared vnto the king that Darius had planted Iron galtoppes, where as hee thought his horsemen shold passe, and by a certaine signe shewed him the place, because it might be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitive to be kept safe, & assembled all his Capitaines togither, declaring þ matter, and exhorting them to make their souldiers priuy to the daunger, for eschuting the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an army could not heare the warning given, þ noyse of both armes taking away the use of the eares. But Alexander riding betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortation to the Capitaines, and to al other that were within hearing. He declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countreys in hope of the victorie, which they were nowe readye to fight for. There upon haue reduced to their memory the battailes they had fought, at the Riuier of Granike, in the mountaines of Cilicia, and with what spedde they had passed ouer both Siria and Egypt, the rehearsall wherof

wherof put them in great hope, and pricked them forwards to the desire of glorie. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawne againe from their former býng, were nowe compelled to fight of necessitie, because they could flie no further, and how that þz daies together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their arment on their backs. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument: he that they had set on fire their owne countrey, confessing all to bee their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorteth them not to feare the bayne names of vñknowne nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, whiche were called Scithians or Caducians. For that they were vñknowne nations was the greatest token that they were men of no valour: for because such as be valiaunt men could never be vñknowne in the world. And contrariwise dastards when they come forth of their vernes, bring nothing with them but names of men, wheras you (quoth he) that be Macedons, haue obteyned by your vertue and manhood, that there is no countrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold the euill order that was in their enemies hoste, of whome some had no weapon but a darte, other a sling to cast stones, and vertie fewe had such armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other parte: yet (hee saide) they had more on their side that shold come to handstripes. And that for his part he woulde not require any man to aduenture himselfe, except he were an example to them to shew valiancē and courage: For he promised that he should be ſaue fighting with the lezmost, knowing that so many weedes as hee shold get, shold be so many ornaments to his person. He saide, they themselves knewe that he would be no partaker of the pray, but that ever his custome was to bestowe the rewardes of the victorie to their behalfe and commoditie. His former wordes haue shewed to bee spoken to such men as were of courage, but if ther were any that were otherwise, he had to ſay vnto them: that they were come vnto the place from whence they could not flie, hauing leste so many countreys behind them whiche they had passed ouer, and so many

manie Riuers and mountaines at their backes. So that nowe there was no way to their houses and countrey, but such as they must make open with their own handes.

This was the exhortacion he gaue unto the Capitaines, and to such of the souldiers as stood next him. Darius that was in his left battaile, accompanied with a chiose band of elect horsemen and footmen, despised the small number of his enemies, their battailes appearing to him shinne and vido of men, when he sawe their winges stretched so farre abroad. He stode therefore on his Chariot on high, and turning himselfe both on the right hand and the left, spake in this sort to such as were about him.

We that not long ago were Lezdes of all the countreyes betwixt Helippont and the Ocean Sea, are compelled nowe to fight, not for fame and glaz, but for our sauergarde and our libertie, which chieflie is to be esteemed. This day shall either establish or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath bee in any age. At the iuster of Granke we fought with a smal part of our power, whē we were vanquished in Cilicia, Syria was able to receive vs, and the Riuers of Tigris Euphrates were as bulwarkes to defende our kyngdome. But nowe we be come to that point, that we have no place to sие to, if we be put to flight. All things behinde our backes are wasted with this long warre, neither Cities be inhabited, nor menne left to till the ground. Both our wives and our children doe followe this armie, a pray ready for our enemies, except we put forth our bodes for the defence of such as be deare unto vs. So much as hath concerned mee, I performed, preparing such an army as this huge plaine is scarcely able to receive: I distributed amongst you horse and armour, providing that victuals should not wante for such a multitude, and haue chosen out an apt place to stowe our battailes in. All the rest remaineth in your hands.

handes. Do but dare; and the victory is yours: despise you this fame which is but a weake weapon agaynst men of valure. It is rashnes which hitherto yee haue feared as a vertue, wherof when the first brunt is spee it waxeth then dull as these Drynes haing once loste their tonges. This plaine hath disclosed their small number, which the mountaines of Cilicia did hide: you see howe thinne their rankes bee, their winges howe they be extended abroad, how their battailes be empty, and boyde of men, and such as bee hindermost haue alreadly turned their backes. They may be ouerthowne with your horse stete, though I send none against them but the hooked wagons. And if we winne the battaile, we make an end of the warre, for they haue no place to sие unto. They be shut with Tiger on the one side, and with Euphrates on the other: and such things as before made for their purpose, be nowe turned, and make cleere against them. Our armie is light, & without baggage, and they be laden with pracie and booties. Wee shall kill them therfore as they be wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one thing shall be both our gaine, & the cause of our victory. If any of you be moued with the fame of that nation, you must thinke that the armour with the outward shewe, & not the bodies of the verre Macedons bee there presente: we haue consumed so much of their bloud since the warre began. And seeing they be but fewe, their losse must nedes be to them the greater. For how great souer Alexander doth seem to such as be fearfull & cowarde, he is but a man, & if you trust me, both rash & without consideration: & hitherto more fortunate through our feare, then by his owne valour. There is nothing can cōtinue that is not governed by reason. For though fortune seeme to fauor for a while, yet at length she shall not support his rashnesse. Besides that, the estate of things be full of chaunge, & no man hath perpetually felicitie. It may be that the prouidence of the gods haue so ordeneid it, that the empire of the Persians increased with such prosperous successe by the space of C. C. and xx. yeres, & brought to so great an height of fortune, shuld now rather bee shakē then utterly ouerthown; therby to admonish vs

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of

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of mans fragilitie, which blyth to forget himselfe ouermuch in prosperous estate. It is not long ago since of our owne motion and courage, we moued war against the Grecians, and invaded their dominions : but now we stand at defensē in our owne countrey . Thus woe be tolled one against an other by exchaunge of fortune. For one nation cannot beare the greatnes of the Empire that we both do couet. But be it so that hope were taken v̄o vs, yet necessitie ought to pricke vs forward: the matter is come to such extremitie. He kepereth now vs p̄soners both my mother, my two daughters, and Dcchus my sonne, boorne to the succession of this Empire. He kepereth captiue your Princes, the issue that is descended of the bloud royal: yea, and your Capitains equall with kings, and if you do not nowe lay to your handes, I my selfe am like to become captive. Deliuer you therefore my bowels out of prison , and restoze to me my chilzen, for whose sake I do not refuse to die. Woe you all sure that both my mother and my chilzen (for my wife is deade in prison) be holding vp their handes, crying vnto the Goddes, and calling for your helpe, your compassion and fidelity, that you would deliuer them from seruitude , from fletters, and from the estate they are in, living at other mens will & appointment. Thinke you that they can be content to live vnder such, as they could scarsly bouchsafe to haue for subiects? I see that our enemies battailes doo approch, and the nearer the daunger is at hand, the lesse þ words I haue spoken doe satisfie me. I make request to you by the Godz of our countrey, by the eternall fier that is caried vpon the auters, by the brightnes of the sunne, that rileth within the boundes of myre Empire , and by the everlasting memorie of Cirus, whiche firste did take the Empire from the Medes and Lidianes , and gave it to the Persians, to deliuer their name and this nation from shame and reproch. Go forth chearefully, haue you god hope, and see that you restoze to your poſtertie the glorie you received of your elders. Lo, you are nowe in your handes your libertie, your help, and hope in tyme to come. Whosoeuer therefore contemneth death , escapeth death , and death ouertaketh such a gōdlie from death. I ride here in a Chariet, not on

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lie for that it is my countrey custome , but also that I may be scene of you all: And I desire nothing so much as that ye wil followe me, whether I shew you an example of prowes, or of cowardnes.

In the meane season whilſt Alexander dyd couet to eschewe the place of perill whereof hee was warned, and enforced himself to encounter with Darius leſte battaile, where he remained in person, was compelleſ to ſet a compaſſe about. Whome when Darius perceiued, he turned like wife his owne battaile towardes him, willing Bessus to appoint the Massagets horſemen to giue a charge on Alexanders leſt battell. He ſet before him his hooked wagons, which by a ſigne giuen brake out ſodenly upon their enemis with a full course, to the intent that by their comming brauwares , they might doe the greater deſtruction. The pikes that were ſet before in the wagons deſtroied diuers, and manie were torne afunder by the hookes that were on both ſides. The Hacedons gaue not place to the by a little, and little, but troubled their array with a maine flight. When Bazeus ſaw their diſorder, he put them in more feare , and appointed out a thouſand horſemen to ſet a compaſſe about the Hacedons battailes to ſpoile their caſtage , ſuppoſing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bands whē they ſhould ſee their owne nation approch. Parmenio which was in the leſte wing perceiued this matter well, and therefore ſent Poldamas vnto Alexander to ſhew him the daunger, I know

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his pleasure what he would haue done. When he vnderstod the case by Polydamus:

Go thy way (quoth he) and shewe Parmenio, if we winne the battaile, we shall not only recover again our own, but shal also haue the spoile of our enemies. Therfore I wold not that any part of our force shoulde be remoued from the maine battaile, but let him fighthe it out manfullly, and not regarde the losse of baggage, wherien he shall obserue the honour of me, and my sacher Philip, whose custome was to do the like.

In the meane season the Persians were encerred among the carriages, and had slaine divers that were left there in defence: whereupon the prisoners began to loose themselues, & taking vp whatsoeuer came to hande, tooke parte with the horsemen, and sharply assailed the Macedons. Divers were so ioyfull that they ran to bearre tidings to Hysigambis, howe Darius had won the victorie, & had ouerthownde his enemies to their great slaughter, and also that all their carriage was wonne, thinking the like fortune had beeene euerie where, seeing they salue the Persians fal to spoile. And although they exhorted Hysigambis that she shoulde leauue her heauiness & reioice, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one worde, or chaunging colour or countenance, but late still immovable. Shee was so ouercome (as it was thought) with sodeine ioy, y she durst not stirre nor attempt fortune. For such as did behold her, could not perceiue, which way she was inclined.

In the meane season Amintas, y was maister of the horse to Alexander, came w a few bandes

of

of horsemen to succour the carriages, but vicerfeine it was whether he did it of his owne head or by the kinges appointment. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians and Scithians, for scarcely attempting the skirmish, hee was druen backe, and fled againe unto Alexander, being rather a witnessse of the losse of the carriage, then a rescuer of the same. The grief that Alexander conceiuued of this matter ouercame the purpose he tooke before, and feared (not without cause) least the souldiers through the carefulnes to recover their own, might leane y fight and resort toward their baggage: he sent therefore Aretes Capitaine of the spearmen y were named Harissophery, against the Scithians. By this time the hooked Waggons, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the square (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers never shrunke at y matter, but received them into the middest of their battell, whereas ioyning themselues close togither, they stoode lyke a wall on both sides, thrusting their pykes into the bowels of the horses, running about the wagons, and throwing downe such as stode in them at defence. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruynie and killing of the horses, with such as governed them. They could not rule their horses when they were once galled and hurte: which with much leaping and strugling, not only brake out of their trace, but also ouerthrew their wagons,

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wiscary, neither they could be safe, nor yet desire to liue. Wherefore euerie one of them thought it a noble thing to aduenture themselves before the face of their prince, & he that coueted moste to defende his maister, was in most perill, for ech man desired the honour to kill the king on his contrary part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyen, or a thing done in dede) such as were about Alexander, beleued y they sawe an Egle flickering about his head, which neither feared with clashing of the haruisse, nor by crying of them that were dying, hung still in the ayre a little aboue him. Then Ariskander which ware a white garment, and caried laurell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the soulviers beeing busie in fighting, as a certeine token of victorie. That thing caused them which before were in some doubt, cheerfully & w great confidence to assaile their enemies. The fight con- tinued after this sorte, vntill the time y he was slain, which gouerned the horse y drew Darius chariot. Then neither the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had beene slaine. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noyse, & a sorrowful howling, wher with they sore troubled & astonied their whole hoste, that were yet fighting with equal victory. Darius kinsmen and the Squires for his bodie that were on his left hand, left him & fled away with a maine flighte: but such as stoode in hys defence on his right hand, conueied him into the heart

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heart of the battaile. It was saide that Darius drewe his sworde, and was determined diuers times to kill himselfe, rather then to sustein the shame of flying away. But when he sawe (as he satte aloft vpon his Chariot) that a great part of his army remained yet fighting, hee was ashamed to leauue them in such sorte. And whilest he thus wauered in his opinion betwixt hope and dispaire, the Persians by litle and litle gaue ground, and shunke from their order. Alexander that had tyred many horses, did at that instant change a newe, and stroake at the faces of them that made resistance. There was none then that made resistance any longer, but a manifest slaughter fell vpon the Persians, and Darius turned his chariot to flee away. The Macedons pursued harde after them that fled, & the dust y flew vp to the skie, tooke awaie their prospect, so that they wandered as it had been in darknes, & euer drew togither when they heard any voice that they knewe. Onely the ratling & noyse of the Chariot, was a token for the Macedons to follow after. As fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this parte, & contrarious to their enemies: so on the other side, wher Parmenio in the left winge encountred with the Persians, they had the better, & the Macedons the worse. Mazeus with his whole band gaue a charge, and put the horsemen that stode in the wings to a sore distresse. And therupon by reason he abounded with multitude, begaine to enclose

close the footmen about. Then Parmenio sente word to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which he signified to be such, that except they had succour in time, they could not resist, but be enforced to flee away. Alexander was gone far in the chace when this sorrowfull message was brought him, wherefore hee commaunded the horsemen to stay, and chased wonderfully that the victorie should thus be taken out of his handes, and that Darius had better fortune in fleeing then he in his following. In the meane season y fame of Darius ouerthowe was brought unto Dazeus. Wherefore though he had the vpper hand, yet he was striken with such feare of his fellowes misfortune, that he made a slacke pursuite vppon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slacke so willingly of their parte, but boldly vsing the occasion of the victory, called unto him the Thessalian horsemen, and saide: Saw you not howe our enemies that euuen now gaue vs a fierce onset, be sedainly afraide, and withdrawe themselves? I see the fortune of our king doth gyue vs the victorie. All the fielde is strowne with the Persians that be slaine. Why do you therefore stay? Are you not good enough for men that bee flying? They salwe his wordes had an appearance of truthe, and therfore by and by they tooke courage, and putting their spurres to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retired not by litle and litle, but marched away a great

great pace. And they wanted nothing of flying, saing that they had not yet direly tourned their backes: yet for all that, in so much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the king nor of his battaile, staied, and would not pursue after them. Dazeus hauing leysure giuen hym to flee at his libertie, passed the Riuere of Tigris, not the next waye, but by a further compasse about with more suretie, and recovered the Citie of Babylon, with the remaines of that vanquished armie. In the meane season Darius with a few that accompanied him in his flying, came to the Riuere of Licus, where passing ouer, he stode in doubt whether he shold breake the bridge or no. For it was shewed him that his enimies were at hand. But considering how many thousands of his men by the breaking thereof shold bee a pray to his enimies, he leste the bridge standing, and at his departure said: that he had rather open the way to them that pursued them, then to shut it against them that fledde after him. But Darius left not his flying till he came to Arbella, where he arrived about mydnight. Who is able to conceire in his minde, or expresse in wordes the manifolde chaunces in this discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both vpon Capitaines and souldiers, the chasing of them that were put to flighte, and the destruction in particular and generall? Fortune heaped togither y one day, the chaunces of a whole worlde. Some tooke the way that came nexte to hand,

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another sort fled unto the wooddes, & sought ouer by-pathes to escape such as had them in y chace. There was a confusion of horsemen & footemen mixed togither without any heade, the armed with the unarm'd, & the whole with the hurte. At length the compassion that one had of an other was turned into feare, & they that coulde not follow, were left bewayling themselves one to an other. But thirſt chiefly afflicted the wounded & wearyed, which lay along euery where in the waies where any water was, gasping after it with open mouth, & when for greedines they had gullid in the troubled water, they began to swell, when the mud once entered into their entrailes. And being thus not in case to moue, the enemy came & stirred them vp w new wounds. Some, when the brookes neere hand were taken vp by other, sought out for springes in every secret place. For there was no puddle so drye nor so far out of the way, that could be hidden from the thirſt of them that searched them out. The olde men & women were heard howling & crying in all the villages neere the way side, howe Darius was yet their king. Alexander (as it hath beeene said before) pursuing the chace was come to the Riuier of Licus, whereas the multitude of the flyers was greater then could passe y bridle. So that manye when their enemies pursued them, leapt into the Riuier, & there laden wyth their armour, and wearied with fighting & flying, were consumed wyth the stremme. But

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Withina while neither the bridle, nor the Riuier were able to receiue tha throng that continually increased by their undescrete flying. For whē feare was once enterid into their heartes, they doubted onlie y which put the firſt in feare. The Macedons were eager in the purſuite of their enimies, & required Alexander that he would not suffer his enimies to escape free away. But hee to stay them alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies fayne with long purſuite, & the night besydes fast approachynge. But in very deede the care of his other battell which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to return to the succour. He had not ſo ſore turned his enſignes, but that certeyne horſemen brought him word from Parmenio, that he like wife had put his enimies to slighte. He was not in ſo great daunger all that day, as when he was comming towards his camp. For there were but few that followed him, and they were out of order, as menne that reioyning of the victorie, iudged all their enimyes eyther to bee fledde or slayne in the fielde. Hodainly there appeared a band of Persian horſemen commyng agaist them, which at the firſt stayed, but afterwardes percyuing the ſmall number of the Macedons, gaue a charge vpon them. The King rede formolle, rather diſsimulating then diſpalyng the perill he was in: but his perpetuall felicitie never failed him in extremities. For at the firſt encounter hee brake the Capitaine

of

of the Persians, who in egernes of the fight vnadvisedly came against him, through with a speare. When he with that blow was smitten to the ground, Alexander slewe the nexte vnto him with the same stasse, & after diuers other. When his companie sawe their enemies amased with his doings, they brake vpon them, and shew many to y earth: yet they for their parts were not vnuenged, for the whole battaile did not so earnestly fight, as that small band assembled there by chaunce. But at length when they sawe flying in the darke to be more suretie vnto them then fighting, they shoked away in diuers companies. Alexander having escaped this extraordinary perill, brought his menne in sauuard to his campe. There were slaine of y Persians, which came to the knowledge of thē that had the victory, xl. M. and of the Macedons lesse then CCC. Which victorie Alexander wan more by his owne vertue, then by any fortune: and with hardines & courage, more thē through any aduaantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politiquely, and fought manfully. With great wisedome he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the weight of y whelc matter to consiste in the battaile it selfe. Whilest the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, hee vled himselfe as assured of the victorie. And when he had put his enemies in feare, hee ceased not till he had sette them flying, and that whch scarcely can bee beleued, in the fiercenes

of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely then greedily. For if he shold haue followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the fieldē, he shold either haue loste the battaile through his own fault, or els haue won y victory through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victory, he had shewed himselfe afraide of the horsmen that he met, he must either haue shamefully fledde, or els haue beene miserably slayne. Nor his Capitaines were not to be defrauded of their commendation: for y woundes that they did receive, were tokenes of their mans hōde. Ephestions arme was wounded wyth a speare: Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas, with shot of arrowes were nere slaine. And if we will give a true iudgement of the Macedons that were there: we must confess that he was a king worthy such ministers, and they men worthy of such a master.

Let therefore that greedy nation (quoth hee) take my treasure, and satisfie their great hunger with gold, which shortly shall cause both the same and them also to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he saide) by experiance, that the abundance of riches, and excelle of things, that their flockes of Concubines & Eunuches were nothing els but burdens & impediments: which Alexander possessing and carrying about, would make him inferiour vnto them of whome before he was vicitious.

His oration seemed to all men to be full of desperation. For they sawe thereby that the rich Citie of Babylon should bee giuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortly after, with all other ornaments of the Realme that were cause of the warre. But he proceeded in persuading them, howe that men in aduersitie ought not to do thinges that shold seeme godly in the speaking, but necessary in the experiance: that wars were made with Iron, and not with gold, with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all thinges followe them that bee armed and in strength. He shewed that his auncestors were afflicted after this maner at the beginning, and yet recovered again quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these words, either for that they thereby encouraged, or els that they rather obeyed his authoritie, then liked his counsell, followed him into the boundes of Medea. Shortly after Arbella was giuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of riches, & treasure of pretious stuffe, and princely apparaile, and besides the substance of the whole army was lefte there.

M.G.

The

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF QVIN.
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



If I shall make mention of the matters that chaunced in the meane season both in Grece, Illicia, & Thracia, by the appointment and commission of Alexander, in order as they fell: þ matters of Asia shold therby be interrupted, which I thought most conuenient to put wholly togerther, vntil the death of Darius, and then to ioin them in this worke, as they agree with þ time. I will first speake of those thinges that ensued after the battaile at Arbella, where Darius arrived about midnight. And as it chaunced, the more part of his frends, and of all other þ were escaped from þ field, were come thither. He called them al togither, & spake to thē this in effect: That he doubted not but Alexander and his men, gaþing with gracie desire for the abundance of spoyle that was in readinesse for them, would visite such Cities and þ intreyes of his, as were most notable & plentifull of riches: which thing (he said) considering his estate, could not but turne at length to his availe. His purpose was (hee saide) with a small band to repaire into the deserthes. And seeing the vittermost boundes of his kingdome were yet vntouched, hee might from thēc easily repaire his power again to renue the warre.

Les,

The sickenes that began in Alexanders campe, rising of the sauour of the dead bodies scattered ouer all the fieldes, was the cause that he did y soone remoue. The plaine countrey of Arabia verie notable for the abundance of sweet odours there growing, lay vpon the right hand as they marched. And so passed through the countrey lying betweene Tiger and Euphrates, which is so fatte and plentifull a ground, that the inhabi-
ters be faine to drine their beastes from feeding, least they should kill themselves by eating ouer much. The cause of this fertilitie commeth of y moisture that issueth from both Riuers, distil-
ling by veines through the ground. Both these Riuers haue their beginning in the mountains of Armenia, where they be distant v. thousand and five hundred furlongs, and so run forwards keeping their distance, till they come neere the bounds of Medea and Gordia. For then by little and little, the further they goe, they drawe more neere togither, leauing lesse space betwixt them. They enclose on both sides the countrey that is called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne through the boundes of Babylon into the redde sea. After Alexander had chaanged his campe fourre times, hee came to a Citie called Hemini-
um, wheras there is a fountaine within a caue, that boyleth out great plentie of pitch: so it ap-
peareth that the Babylonians had their cement from thence, which they emploied about the ma-
king of their huge walles. As Alexander was

going

going from thence towards Babylon: Mazeus which was saide before to haue fledde from the battaile, came to meet him in most humble ma-
ner, whereas committing his children into hys handes, yelded himselfe, and rendered vp the ci-
tie. His comming was very gratefull vnto the king, considering what trauaile he shold haue susteined in the siege of so strong a Citie: if yt had bene kept against him. And besides, for so much as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiaunt, and much noted his doing in the laste battaile, thought his example shold much pro-
uoke others to do the like. For that cause he re-
ceiued both him and his children in gentle ma-
ner, and yet gaue order to his menne, that they shold enter into the Citie in such araye of bat-
taile, as if they shold fight. A great number of the Babylonians stood vpon the walles, desirous to behold him that was their new king. But the more part went forth to meeke him. Bagistines that was Capitaine of the Castle, and keeper of the kings treasure, because he would shew him-
selfe to be no lesse affectionate towardes Alexan-
der then Mazeus was, strowed all the wayes where he shold passe with flowers & garlands, and set auuters of siluer on both sides, with fran-
kensence burning vpon the same, and all other kind of sweet odors. Next vnto him came flockes of beastes, great numbers of horses, with Lyons & Pardailes carted in cages, which he brought as presentes to giue vnto Alexander. And after

M.iij.

them

The fourth booke

Then the Magies , singing according to their countrey maner. The Caldies went nexte with their diuiners and prophets, and then the musitians with their kindes of instruments : whose propertie was to sing the praises of kinges, and the Caldies vsed to declare the motions of the planets, with the course and revolution of the time. Last in order came the Babilonian horsemen, whose sumptuous furniture both for them selues and their horses, tended more to voluptuousnesse and delicacie, then to any magnificece. Alexander that was enclosed about with armed men, willed that the Babilonians should come behinde his footemen, and he riding alofte in his Chariot entered into the Citie, and afterwards into the palace, where the next day he suruyed Darius treasure and riches . The beautie and pleasauntnesse of that Citie, gaue iust occasion to Alexander and suche as were with him, to wounder much vpon it . Heiniramis was the builder thereof, and according to some mens opinion Welus, whose palace is to be seene there. The walles be made of bricke, set with a kinde of pitche called Witumen . And they be xxij. foote in breadth, so that two cartes may easilie go vpon them a front. They be in height C. cubits, and the towers be x. foote higher than the rest of the walles. The compas of them aboute is CCClxvij. furlongs, being builded (as it is leste in memory) in so many dayes. The houses stand the breadth of an acre distaunt from the walles,

of Quintus Curtius.

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walles, not builded throughout the citie, but only by the space of lxxvj. furlonges, and those not ioyned neare one to an other, but for some consideration deuided a sunder. The rest of y ground is sowed and tillcd, to the intent that if any forrain power come against them, they shold bee able to be reliued by the fruit therof comming. The riuere of Euphrates doeth run through the middest of the citie, and is kept in on both sides with wals of a wonderful workmanship. But the great caues made of bricke, and sett with pitche in stead of morter, wrought lowe within the ground to receive the violence of y streame, do exceed all the rest of the workes there made : for except y same were of quantity & largenesse to receive y water whē y streame floweth ouer the banks y be made to keepe it in, the violence thereof shold beare down y houses of y Citie. There is also ouer y riuere a stony bridge which ioyneth both parts of the citie togither , counted amongst the meruailous workes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mudde and owse, ground can scarcely there bee founde to laye the foundation vpon , and the streame besides casteth vp such heapes of sande against the bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to passe, & therefore beareth vp on y bridge with greater force, than if it had his free recourse. There is also a Castle that is xx. furlonges about, the towers whereof be thirtie foote depe within the ground, and iiii score foote

ijij

In height aboue the ground. Where also y won-
ders are to bee seene so often mentioned in the
Greeke posies. For in the same be whole groves
of trees set by wonderfull art aboue the ground,
so high as the topes of the towers, which bee
marueilous beutiful & pleasaunt through their
height and shadow that they make. The whole
height of them is susteined and borne by huge
pillers made of stone, vpon which there is a
floore of square stone, that both vpholdeth the
earth that lyeth deepe vpon the pillers, and also
the humour wherwith it is watered. The trees
that grove thereupon be of eight cubits about,
and as fruitful as if they grew in natural earth.
And although procelle of time is wort by little
and little not onely to destroy things made with
hande, but also the verie workes of nature: yet
this worke, for all it is oppressed with the roots
of so many trees, and burdened with the weight
of so much earth, and of so great a wood: Yet re-
maineth vnperished in any point, being suspen-
ned vp with xx broad walles, distant ri.foote one
from an other. When these trees be seen a farre
off, they seeme to be a woodde growing vpon a
mountaine. It is said, that a king of Siria reig-
ning in Babylon, builded this worke for hys
wiues fancies, who for the loue she had to woods
and shadowy places, moued her husband in do-
ing thereof to counterfeit the pleasantnes of na-
ture. Alexander taried longer there then in any
other Cittie, which hurted more the discipline of
the

the Macedons in their wars, then in any other
place. For nothing was more corrupt then the
maners and customes of that Cittie, nor anie o-
ther was more abundantly furnished of al thin-
ges, wherewith men bee allured and stirred to
excessiue pleasures. The parents and husbandes
were contented for gain, that their children and
wiues should haue company with such straun-
gers as came amongst them. The kinges & no-
bilitie of Persia, delyte much in banqueting pa-
stime, but the Babylonians be specially gyuen
thereunto, to wine and to dronkennes, wher ths
women vse such a custome, that in the begin-
ning of the feast their apparell seemeth woman-
ly and demure, but afterwards by litle and litle
they put off their uppermost garments, and lay-
ing aside all shamefastnes, doe discouer them-
selues naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by
harlots onely, but by them all in general, which
count the making of their bodies common, but
a ciuitie and good maner. In this voluptuous-
nes and abomination, ths conquerour of Asia
wallowed by space of rriidayes whereby hee be-
came much the weaker to haue doone other en-
terprises, if hee had had an enemie to stande a-
gainst him. But to the intent the harme he toke
should be the lesse perceiued, he increased his po-
wer with a newe supply of men. For Amintas
the son of Andromenes, brought him from An-
tipater six thousand Macedon footmen, and five
hundred horsemen, and wyth them five hundred

Thratian horsmen, with thre thousand five hundred footemen of the same nation. He had also out of Peloponese four thousand footemen, and four hundred four score horsmen beeing Mercenarie Souldiers. Amynatas also brought with him fiftie young men of the Nobilitie of Macedonia to attend vpon Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the king at meate, and to bring him his horse when he wente to battaile. They accustomed to be about him when he hunted, and kept the watche by course at his Chamber doore. These were they which afterwards proved great Captaines, and that was the race, out of which the Rulers of their men of war did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Castle of Babilon, with seauen hundred Macedons, and three hundred Mercenary souldiers, and left Minetas & Appollidorus gouernours of the Cittie and the Countrey, to whom he assigned two thousand footemen and a thousand talents, giving them in commission to wage more souldiers. He made Mazeus that gaue the Cittie into his handes, Lieutenaunt of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that yelde vp the Castle to folow him in his warres. Armenia was giuen to Metherenes, that betraied the Cittie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldiers to the enterprising of other thinges, gaue out of the treasure of Babylon, to every Macedon horsman fife hundred deniers, to every horsman of the straungeres fife hundred, and to euerie

rie footman two hundred. When he had set order in all these thinges, he came into the countrey called Satrapene, which being plentiful of all things, and abundant of vittaile, caused the king to tary the longer there. And least idlenesse should be any abatement of his mens courages, he devised to stir vp their spirits, and keep them occupied, by appointing iudges to trie out such as had shewed themselues most valiaunt in the warres, to whome he assigned rewardes due to their deseruinges. There were viij. founde out, whose doings appeared aboue y rest, & the charg of a man was committed to every one of them & were called Chiliarchi. That was y first time they put a man in a band: for before that time they were deuided into v.C. which was not counted any great preferment, or reward of seruice. The number of them were great that came to plead their right in this behalfe, which before y iudges that gaue sentence, brought in testimony of their doings: whereby it could not be vnowne which of them had deserved iustlye such honour or not. The first place was adiudged to old Lidarchias, for his valiantnes vsed in the battell at Aliscarnasson, where he chiefly did restore againe the fight, when y young souldiers had given it ouer. The second place of honor was giuen Antigonus & Philotas, Angeus obtained the third: the fourth was adiudged to Amintas, the fist to Antigonus. Amintas y son of Lincestes obtained the sixt. Theodorus the seauenth, & Hellanicus the

the last. Hereupon to great purpose hee altered many things that were vsed by his predecessors in the discipline of warre. For where as before the horsemen of euerie countrey were in several bands by themselues, he without respect of anye nation appointed them such Capitaines as he thought expedient. And whereas at the remouing of the campe, warning was accustomed to be giuen by a trumpet, the sounde whereof in any noyse or tumulte coulde not bee sufficiently heard: he caused an high pole to be alwaies set before his pauileon, wherupon remained a signe apparant to al men. The token that they obserued was fire in the night, and smoke in the daye time. As he was marching towardes Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the region, eyther by Darius commaundement, thinking by meanes of the spoile to detaine Alexander the longer there, or els of his owne free will, sent his sonne to meeete him, proffering the deliverie of the Citie. The young man was entreated verie gently, and by his conduction Alexander passed forwardes, till he came to the Riuier of Hydaspis, which is counted to be a very delicate water. Abulites there mett Alexander with princely and rich giftes, and presented him amongst the reste of other things Dromedary Camels that were wonderfull swift, with ij. Elephants that Darius had sent for out of India, to be a terroour to the Macedons, which now are become an increase of their strength. When the riches of the
pan-

vanquished was come into the victoress hands: hee founde in that Citie an incredible treasure, fiftie thousand talentes of Massie siluer vncoyned: which riches gathered togither in þ space of many yeeres by diuers kings for their succession and posteritie, thus in a moment came into the handes of a forreine Prince. Alexander being lodged within the Pallace, did sit downe in Darius seate: which being higher then serued for his stature, by reason his feete could not reach to the ground: one of the kings pages put a boord vnderneath for him to tread vpon. At the dooing whereof, one of the Cunuches that belonged to Darius looked heauily, and fetched a great sigh: whose sadness Alexander perceyuing, enquired of him the cause. He aunswered, that when he beheld the boord whereupon Darius was wont to eate, employed to so base an vse, he could not behold it without great griefe. Alexander being therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reverence, caused the same to be taken away. But Philotas made request he shold not so doe, but rather take it as a divination of his good lucke and fortune, that the table where-upon his enemie did eate, shold now become subiect vnder his feet. Alexander purposing frō thence to passe into Persia, committed the citie of Susa to Archilaus with ij. thousand men of warre, & to Zenophilus the charge of the Castle, leauing such Macedons as were aged there in garrison. But

he did betake the keeping of the treasure vnto Callicrates, & restored to Abulites the gouvernement and principalitie of the countrey of Susa, leauing within the Citie Darius mother & his children. And forasmuch as Alexander had at the same time plentye of cloth of purple sente hym out of his countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedonis maner : for the honour he bare to Higamibis (whome he had in reuerence as if she had beeне his mother) thought good to present parte of those to her, with the persons used to make them : and willed it should be told her if she lyked them , she should accustome her naçes to make the like , and glue them for presents. At the declaring of which message , the teares ranne out of her eyes , which declared the giste not to be acceptable to her : for the Persian women take nothing in more despite , then to put their hands to woll. When reporte was made to Alexander in what sorte shee had received his present, he thought beth the matter meete to be excused, and her to be comforted. Therfore he came to visite her, and saide :

This garment whiche I weare, was bothe of the gyft and making of my sisters : our customes brought me into errour. Theretore I require you, that ye wil not take mine ignorance in euill part. I trust that other wise I haue obserued sufficiently all things whiche I knewe to be your custome. When I vnderstoode that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sonne to sitte in the mothers presence, except she doch give him leaue whensoeuer I came into your presence, I woulde never sitte till you willed me so to do. You would often times haue fallen downe and worshipped me ; but I

would net suffer you, but haue euer honoured you, and giuen you the name due to my swace mother Olimpiades.

When the king with these wordes had well pacified her, he departed , and by soure encampings came vnto a Riuier that the country men call Pasatigras : which springing in the mountaines of the Trions, it runneth steepe downe amongst the rockes with wooddie bankes by the space of 5 o. furlonges : but then descending into a plaine, it becommeth nauigable, & so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in a softer ground by the space of vi. C. furlonges, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian Sea . Alexander passing this Riuier with nine thousand footmen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenary Greekes , and with soure thousande Thracians , came amongst the Trions, whose countrey is neere vnto Susis , and stretcheth out into Persia, leauyng betwixt it and Susis a narrowe streight . Madates had the rule of that countrey , who was such a man as was rare at that time : for hee determined to abide the extremitie for his dueties sake . Such as knew the Countrey , did enforme Alexander that there was a priuie waye through the hilles whereby menne might gette to the furthestmost side of the chiese Citie of that countrey : and if hee would sende a fewe that were light armed, they might bee brought to a place where they shoulde appere aboue their enemies heads. This counsayle lyked hym so well, that hee made the

counsailes guides, and committed them to Tauron, whome hee appointed chiefe of that enterprize. He assigned vnto him a M. v. C. mercenary souldiers, and a M. Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downne, he entered into his tourney. Alexander in the the third watch remoued his campe, & by the spring of the daye had passed the streights. There he set his men in hand to cut downe timber for the making of Towers, and all other such things as pertained to the assault of a Citie, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approch, the Citie stood so high, and the rockes gaue such impediment, whereby the souldiers were repulsed, and received many hurtes, contending both with the enemies, and the situation of the place. Notwithstanding they gaue it not ouer, by reason the king was euer amongst the formost, asking them if they were not ashamed, being the conquerours of so many Cities, to bee so long in the winning of a small castle, that was so obscure and unknowne in the world. As he was traueiling amonst the rest, they did shoothe and cast stones at him from the walles: whom the souldiers defended with their targettes, because they could not remoue hym away. At length Tauron appeared aboue the castle of the Citie: at whose sight the enemies hartes faynted, and the Macedons the more fiercely did assayle them. When they sawe themselues in this extremitie, and perceiued their power not able

to withstand the Macedons, they became of diuers dispositions. For some were determined to dye, and manie to flee away. But the greater part retired themselues into the Castle, from whence they sente vnto Alexander thirtie Embassadoures to aske mercie. But he gaue vnto them a sorrowfull aunswere, that there was no pardon to be obtained at his hands. Whereupon they being in doubt of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sente vnto Hysgambis by a priuie way unknowne to their enemies, making their request that shee would vouchsafe to bee a meane to Alexander for the pacifying of his rigour and wrath towardes them. In her on ly they put their hope, knowing howe much Alexander loued her, and that he esteemed her as if she had bene his mother. And they thought she would the rather encline to their desire, because Padates y was capitain there had maryed her sisters daughter, whereby he became a kny ne to Darius. Hysgambis saide long in deuise of their request, shewing that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessour for others, adding there unto, that she feared least she might misuse the victors fauor, and make hym wearie of her: for she saide that shee had moche remembraunce that she was prisoner, then that she was a Quene. But at length she was overcome with their suite, and by her letters made intercession vnto Alexander after such a wyl, that she first excused her selfe of her suite

king, & after required him that he woulde pardon them, or at the least wayes that he woulde forgiue her, being petitioner but for the life onely of such one, as was her friend & her kinsman, and now no lenger any enimie of his maiestie, but in readinesse to submit himselfe. This one matter is sufficient to declare the moderation and clemencie that was then in Alexander: for he did not only pardon Dadates, but also leste the citie untouched, graunting to all that were within it both libertie and freedom, with enjoyment of their landes and goods, without paying of any tribute, more then that which she coulde not haue obtained of Darius being her Sonne. When he had thus subdued the Uxions, he annexed them to the Province of Susa, and purposing to passe forwardes deuided his armie into two parts, whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plaine countrey, and reseruing such a part as was pestered least with baggage, tooke the way of the mountaines, which with a continuall ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Perse. In his passage he destroyd all the mountain countrey, arriuing the third day in the boundes of Persia. The 6. day he entred into the streights of Pilae Susidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with ri. M. swetmen, who keeping the tops of the high and steepe rockes that hung ouer on both sides the way, at the first kept themselues quiet of purpose, pretending a feare vntill suche time

time as y army was entred into the narrowest of the Streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwardes in their contempt, then they threwe downe great stones vpon them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in peeces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that ther distressed whole bandes at once. And besides, they did them great damage with shotte of arrows, and stones that they did cast out of synages. Such as were men of courage were not so much greeued with the death and destruacion that they saw there present, as that they shold be slayne after such a maner like beasts caught in a pitte, whereas they could not be revenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was turned into such a rage and woodnesse, that they ranne vp against the rockes, and there enforced them-selues by taking holde, and by heaving vp one of an other, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught holde vpon some outward parte, and thereby laboured to ascende, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once: they pulled asunder the thing they helde by, and so fell downe all together. In this case they could neither remayn, passe forwardes, nor yet defende them-selues by anye deuyse they coulde make with their Targettes, sayng the stones were of suche weyghte that were throwne downe vpon them. Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the griefe

he received by the destruction of his menne, but much more for the shame that he had brought his army into such a daungerous streight. He had beeene invincible before that day, and never attempted thing in vayne. He had passed the streights of Cilicia without anye hurte or damage, and opened himselfe a newe way by Sea into Pamphilia. Which felicitie of his seemed to be at a stay, and plucked backe: for he could perceyue no other remedy, then to returne by þ way he came. He caused the Retreite therefore to be blowne, and gaue order to his souldiers to go close together, and by casting their targettes ouer their heades to returne backe again, after they had marched thirtie furlonges within the streight. When he was returned, and had planted his campe in an open grounde, consulting what was best to do: such a superstition entred into his minde, that he called for the priestes, & diuiners to helpe the matter by their iuocation. But Arissander to whom he gaue most confidence, could do nothing in that case. Alexander therefore condoning their sacrifices, which he thought then done out of tune, called for such as knewe the countrey. They shewed him of an other way that was plaine and open ynough: but yet he liked it not, he was so ashamed to leauie his souldiers vburied that were slaine. For amongst all other ceremonys obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kepte, then the burying of the deade.

He

He caused therfore such prisoners as were late. ly taken, to bee called before him: amongest whom there was one expert both of the Greeke and Persian tongue, which shewed to the King that he laboured in vaine, if he thought to conuey his armie ouer the toppes of those mountaines, which (he saide) began at mount Caucasus, and closed in the one side of Persia, by the space of a thousand and sixe hundred furlonges in length, and a hundred & fortie in bredth, till such time as they come unto the Sea, which also enclosed the countrey from the place where þ mountaines ceased. The countrey lying at the foot of the mountaines, he described to be plain, fru full, and replenished with many faire Citties and villages, and that the Riuier of Arares running through the same, falleth into an other Riuier called Medus, bringing with it the waters of many small streames. Which Riuier of Medus beeing much lesse then the same which it doth receiue, runneth from thence towardes the South sea. No place could be more abounding of grasse: for euerie wher neere vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with flowres. The Riuier was shadowed ouer with Platyn & Popler træs, which by reason they stand somwhat high, and the water runneth lowe in a dee chevell, seeme to such as be a farre, to be woodnes adioyning to the mountaines. He counted no countrey in all Asia to be more wholesom or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both

by

the snoewe also driven with the winde , was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell divers times downe into pits, and such as coueted to pul them out, were oft times drawne after. The night also with the countrey vnkowne, and the guide of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased much their feare: considering that if they shoulde not deceiue their enemies watch, they should be taken like beastes . They weighed also that both their sauegarde and the kinges lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner . At length they came to a mountaine, whereas the way towards Ariobarzanes lay on the right hande. Then he sent before by the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners, Phylofas, Cenon, Amintas, and Polycarpon , wyth a bande of the lightest armed, whome he aduised, that forasmuch as they had both horsemen and footmen, and the countrey fertill and abundant of fodder : that they should make no hast , but passe forwardes faire and easily . And hee with the esquires of his bodie, and the bande of horsemen that they call Agenia, was guided by another by-path, far off from the place where hys enemies kept their watch . But the passage was so streight and so hollow, that they suffered great trouble and vexation in passing thereof. It was midday, and they were so wearied, that of necessite they must take resse, having so far to go as they had trauailed already, sauing that the way was not so difficult nor so rough . He refreshed there-

therefore his men with meate and with sleepe, and in the second watch did rise vp , and passed the rest of his iourney without any difficultie, sauing in that part where the mountaine began to fall a slope towardes the plaine, their passage was sodeinly stopped by a great gull made with the violence of the streames that ranne downe the mountaines, by wearing away of the earth. And besides the trees standing so thicke, and the boomes that grewe one within an other , appereed before them as a continuall hedge. When they sawe themselues stayed after this maner, such desperation fel amongst them, y they could scarsly abstaine from teares : the darkenes beeing a great encrease of their terror, seeing they could not enjoy any benefite of the stars. For if any gaue light, the same was taken away by y shade of the trees . And the vse of the eates could not serue for one to receive counsel or comfort at an other, the winde whirled so amongst the leaues, and the shaking of the boomes made such a noyse. But at length the day which they so much desired , diminished with his light, the terrors that the darkenes of the night did make. For by fetching of a little compasse about , they passed the hollowe gulle , and every man began to be a guide. Finally they got vp into the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies lying in campe . Then the Macedons shewed themselves stoutly in their armour, appearing sodeinly on their backes, when they mi-

strafsted no such thing, and there slewe suche as came first to encounter with them. So that on the one part the greuous noyse of them y were slayne, and the miserable shoule of such as ran in for succour amongst their owne companie, put the reste to flight without making anye resistaunce. When the alarme was once heard in the campe where Craterus laye, the armys by and by passed forwardes to goe through the streightes, in the which they were repulsed the day before. Philotas also with Polycarpon, Cenos, and Amintas, which were gone the other way: arrived at the same time, and gaue a further terror vnto their enemies. When the Persians sawe their enemies assailing in all partes at once, though they were so opprest wyth their sodeine invasion that at the first they were in doubt what to do: yet at length they assembled together, and fought notably, necessarie stirring vp the faintnes of their hartes: for often-times dispaire is the cause of mens god hap. They being unarmed, closed with them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Artobazanes wyth fortie horsemen, and five thousand footmen that kept about his person, brake through the battell of the Macedons, to the great slaughter both of his owne men, and of his enemies, & by making of haste, recouered Persepolis the chiese citie of the Countrey. But when he was excluded from thence

thence by such as were within, he returned again the fight with such as were wyth hym: and so was slayne: by that time Craterus that made all the spede he coulde devise, was come vnto them: and Alexander fortified his campe in the same place where he did discomfite his enemies. For though they were all fledde and he certain of the victoyme, yet because hee founde his waye stopped in manie places with greate and deepe ditches, hee thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great hast: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the grounde, which hee sawe apte for them to laye embushmentes against him. As he was passing forwardes, hee receyued letters from Lyridates the keper of Darius treasure, signifying that the inhabiteres of Persepolis hearing of his commyng, were about to spoile the Treasurie, and that therefore he shoulde make hast to prevent the matter: for the waye was ready though, notwithstanding that the Riuere of Arapes was in his waye. There was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his celerite, which he shewed specially in this matter: so leauing his footmen behinde, he trauelled all night with his horsemen, and by the day light came to the Riuere of Arapes. There hee found villages at hande, where of the Lumber broken down of the houses, they made a bridge in a moment, by the helpe of stones whiche were laide in the bottome of the Riuere. Wher

come of our wiues whome chaunce and necessitie hath gotten unto vs here for the onely comfort of our priuement : What shall wee do with our children we haue begotten here : take them with vs, or leue them behinde vs? If we returne with such as we haue here, none of those in Grece will acknowledge vs : & shal we then be iudged to leue thysse comfors we haue alreadyp bringg ouerreine whether we shal come to those we leake or no? Whereby much better it were for vs to hide our selues amoungst them whiche haue bene acquainted with vs in our miserie.

These were Entymeon his wordes : But Theatus of Athenis reasoned to the contrarie. There is no creature (quoth he) in whome remaineth any sparcle of honestie, that wil esteeme vs by our outward shape, seeing that our calamite is not come of nature, or by our own deserving, but through misfortune and our enemies crueltie. Such as be ashamed of soz- tunes challes, as well worthy to suffer misaduenture. They give a gruous sentence vpon the estate of man mortalitie, and despaire much of manie, that deny their compassion to men in miserie. Nowe therfore since the Goddes haue offered to you the thing whiche yee durst never haue wished for : that is your countrey, your fortunes, and your children, beynge the thinges whiche men esteeme more then life, and redeeme often tymes with death: why doe you doubt for the enjoyment of those thinges to breake out of this imprisonment : I judge the ayre of our owne countrey moche naturall to vs, where me thinkis is an other maner of living, other custome, other religion, & an other tong, whiche for the pleasance is coueted of the barbarous nations. What great thinges then bee those that ye would willingly leue, the want of which only is the cause of your miserie : My opinion is plaine that we visite our countrey and our home, and not refuse so great a benefite as Alexander hath proffered vs. If any bee so detayned with the loue of such wiues and children as they haue gotten heare in seruite, lette such be no impediment to others, that of all things esteeme most their natural countrey.

There

There were but fewe of his opinion : for cus- saine that is of greater force then nature, pre- uailed in that matter. They agreed to demand of Alexander the gifte of some place to inhabite in, and there chose out a hundred to be suuters to him in that behalfe. When Alexander perceived them comming towardes him, thinking y they would haue required the thing that hee conceiued in his minde :

I haue appoynted to euere one of you (quoth hee) beales to carrie you, and a M. Deniers, and when you shall come to Grece, I will so much provide for you, that excepting your misfortune, no other shall thynde themselves in better case then you.

But when he sawe them loke still towards the ground, and that they neither lifted vp their eyes, nor speake one word, he enquired the cause of their heauinesse. Then Entymeon reheatased agayne those thinges in effect whiche he had spo- ken before in counsaile. The King therefore pi- tying no lesse their demaunde, then he dyd their misfortune : commaunded iij. thousand deniers to be giuen to euere one of them, and garments besides, with cattell and corne, whereby they might till and sowe the land that should be ap- pointed unto them. The nexte day he assembled all the Capitanies of his armie together, and shewed them that there was no Cittie more e- nemie to the Grecches then the same that was the chiese seatte of the auncient kings of Persia, from whence all the great armies had been sent into Grece : and howe Darius first, and after

X. 111

Ferres had come out of that place to moue their
vniall warre against Europe, with the destruc-
tion of which Citie, he thought good to revenge
their predecessors. The inhabiteres had abando-
ned the Citie, and fledde where feare did dryue
them. Where-upon the king streight wayes
brought in all his footemen to the spoile therof.
He had before time wonne many Cities: some
by force, and some by composition, that were ful
of riches, and princes treasure. But the aboun-
dance of that Citie did excēde all the rest, as in
the place where the Persians had layde their
whole substance. Golde and siluer was there
found in heapes, and great plenty of rich vesse-
res and furnitures of houses, not onely for neces-
sarie and necessary vse, but for excelle and esten-
tation: which was so great, that it gaue the vic-
tores occasion to fighte amongst them-selues,
eche taking other for enemies, that had gotten
the richest spoile. The plenty there was such, þ
they could not employe to their vse the Ryches
they found, but when they sawe things of value
estēmed them rather then tooke them awaie:
Till such time that every one coueting, to haue
a parte of every thing, sare and brake asunder
the princely robes, and the pretious plate of cu-
rious workmanship, with the images of golde
and siluer, which were either beaten in gobets
or plucked in peeces, as every one caught hold:
nothing was left untouched, nor nothing caried
away whole; cruelle bearing no lesse rule shere
then

then couetousnes, euery one was so laden with
golde and siluer, that they esteemed not the kee-
ping of the prisoners, but killed such as they first
spared in hope of gaine. There were many ther-
fore that prevented their enemies handes wth
voluntary death, and diuers that cloathing them
selues in their most pretious apparell, leaped
downe from the walles with their wifes and
children. Certein there were that set their owne
houses on fire (which they iudged their enemies
would els haue done shortly after) because they
would burie themselves amongst their owne
famlye. At length the king did forbid any暴
lence to be done to women, and that no manne
should medle with any thing perteyning to the.
The summe of money taken within this Citie,
was greater then any man could well credite:
but eyther we must doubt of the rest, or els be-
lieue that hath beeне leste in memory, how that
the treasure there founde, amounted to a hun-
dred and xx. thousand talentes: which treasure,
because that Alexander purposed to employ in
his wars, caused horse & camels to be brought
from Husis and Babilon to cary the same. The
taking of the Citie of Persepolis, wherein was
found sixe thousand talents, was an increase to
this summe, whiche Citie beeing builded by Cy-
rus, was yeelded vp by Gobares that had the ke-
eping therof. Alexander left in the Castle of Per-
sepolis, thair thousand Macedonis in garrison,
vnder Picardes Capitaine of the same, and

reserved to Teridates that delivered him the treasure, the same honour that he enjoyed with Darius. Leauing in this Cittie y greater parte of his armie, with his carriages vnder the rule of Parmenio and Craterus: hee with a thousand horsemen and a band of footemen, without anie baggage, went to visite in the winter season the inward parts of Perse. Where he was vexed and troubled with stormes and tempests that were in maner intollerable: but yet he let ted not to goe forwardes in his enterprise to the place that he appointed. In his iourney he came unto a Countrey that was couered all with snowe, and frozen by force of the great colde. The wildenes and desert maner thereof, put the souldiers y were weried with trauaile in such a feare and terrore, that they imagined to haue seene the uttermost bondes of the worlde. For when they beheld all things wast, and no signe appearing of mans habitation, they were amaz'd, and made request to returne againe, before that the light and the elements should faile them. The King woulde not chastise them being in his terrour, but leaped from his horse and went on foote in the snowe and the yce. Whiche thing when his frendes sawe, they coulde not shame but followe: then the Captaines did the like, and smallie the scouldiers. The king was the first that did breake the yce and made him selfe away, whose ensample the rest did folow: At length having passed the Woods that were

Without

Without leay, they found heere and there some appearance of habitation, and perceiued flocks of shepe. Wher the inhabitiours that dwelled in cottages did sparkled there aboutes saue men comming, whom they iudged to be their enemis, thinking they had beene enclosed about, slew such as were not able to follow them, and fled to the wilde Mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they take prisoners, their wildes was somewhat mitigated, and they yielded themselves to Alexander, whom he hurted not anie kind of way. Wher he had destroyed all that part of Perse, and brought the Townes under his obedience: Hee came into the Countrey of the warlike Hardons, which differ much frō y rest of y other Persias in their maner of living. They with their wiues & children did inhabite within caues in the mountaines, & lued with y flesh of shepe, & wylde beastes. For the women according to their kind had any more apperance of meekenes or milenes then the men, either in their personages or dispositions. But their curled haire did hang downe before uppon their faces, and their garments came but to their knie. The bands of their slinges were filets for their foreheads, whiche they vsed both for ornament & for defence. This nation for all their bactfull & rude maner, could not escape to be subdued with the same force of fortanc y others were. So that y xxx. day after he departed frō Persepolis, he re-

turned thither againe. Then he gaue rewardes to his frendes , and to all the reste according to their deservyng, distributynge in maner all the riches whiche he found in that Citie . But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princely qualities, wherein he excelled all kinges, both that constancie in all daungers and perilles, that certeintie in deuaising and performing his enterpryses , his promise keping towarde the yelden, his clementie towarde prisoners, and that temperance in lawfull and accoustable pleasures, were all defaced through the intollerable desire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his enemy which contended with him for the Empire, did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power togither : and although the people newly conquered had not yet receaved quiet subiectiōn : yet hee gave himselfe continually to feasting and banqueting, where women were ever present , not such to whomē men had respect of honestie, but harlots, whiche had there more libertie then was beseeming in the compānie of men of warre. Amongst them there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her dronkennes, affirmed to Alexander that he shoulde wonderfully win the fauor of the Greckes, if he would commaund the Pallace of Persepolis th̄ bee sette on fire. The destruction whereof (she said) they greatly desired , for so much as the same was the chiefe seate of the kinges of Persia, which in time past had destroied

ed so many great Cities: When the dronken hālot had giuen her sentence, there were other present, who being likewise dronken, confirmed her words. Alexāder then that had in him more inclination of heate, then of patience, said: Why do we not then renenge Grecce, and set this Citie on fire? They were all chased with drinking and rose immediatly vpon those words to burn that Citie in their dronkennes , which the men of war had spared in their fury. The king himselfe first, and after his guests, his seruants and his concubines set fire in the Pallace, which being builded for the most part of Ceder trees , became sodeinly in a flame. When the army that was encampet neere vnto the Citie saw the fire which they thought had beeene kindled by some casualtie , they came running to quench y same againe. But when they saw the king there present nourishing the fire, they poured downe the water which they brought, and helped likewise the matter forwards. Thus the Pallace y was the head of the whole Orient , from whence so many nations before had fetched their lawes to liue vnder, the seat of so many kings, the onclie terror sometime of Grecce , the same that hath beeene the fende: forth of the Spauies of nine M. shippes, and of the armyes that overflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea , and undermined mountaines where the Sea hath nowe his course: was consumed & had his end, and never rose againe in all the age that did en-

sue. For the kinges of Macedon vsed other Citie, which he now in the Persians hands. The destruction of this Citie was such, that the foudation thereof at this daye could not be founde, but that the Riber of Arares doth shew where it stode, which was distant from Persepolis xx. furlonges, as the inhabitanres rather do beleue then knowe. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie was destroied by their king in his dronkennesse : yet at length it was turned into an earnest matter, and they were contente to thinke it expedient that the citie should haue bene destroyed after that manner. But it is certeine, that when Alexander had taken his rest, and was become better advised, he repented him of his doing and saide : That the Persians shold haue done the Greekes more harm if it had bene his chauice to haue reigned in Ferres steede. The next day he gaue xxx. talents for a reward to him that was his guide into Persia, and from thence he tooke his iourney into Media, where a new supplye of souldiers (of whome Platoo of Athens had y^e conduct) came to him out of Cilicia, being v. scutmen, and a thousand horsemen. When he had by this meane increased his power, he determined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ceathana y^e head Citie of Media, & was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be prevented by the speede his enemies made, altered his purpose and his iourneye. Alexander was
not

not come neare him by a M.v.C.furlonges, but he coulde not shinke any distaunce sufficient to defende him against his celerite, and therefore prepared himselfe rather to fighte then to flie. He had with him xxx. Scutmen, amonge whom there were iiiij. G. Greekes, whose fidelite never fayled in all his aduerse fortune. He had also iiij. G. Archers and Slingers, besides thre G. thre C. Bactrian horsemen, which were vnder Bessus charge, being gouernour both of the Citie of Bactria, and the Countrey. Darius with hys bande withdrew a little from the high waye, and commaunding the verlettes, with suche as had charge of the caryage to passe on before, called a Counsayle, and spake these wordes unto them.

If fortune had matthed me with cowardes, & with such as esteemed any kind of life before an honest death, I would rather haue holden my peace, then consumed my wordes in bayne. But I haue had greater experiance then I wold wyl, both of your valiant courage and fidelite towardes me. So that I for my parte ought rather labour to seeme worthy to haue such frændes as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet remayne the same meyne towardes me that ye were before. For of so many thousands that were vnder mine Empire, you onely haue followed and sticke by me, when I was twise ouerthrowne in the field, and twise enforced to flie away. Your fidelite and your constancy maketh me thinke that I remaine still a king. Traptoore and fugitives reigne in my Cities, not for thet they be thought worthy of such honour, but that you might be pouoked by their rewardes to revolt against me. Notwithstanding, you haue chosen rather to follow mee in my misfortune, then be partakers of the victors felicitie. You are worthy, whome the Gods shall rewarde, if I may not, as y^e doubtlessly they will.

¶ ij.

Thers

There can no posteritie be so silent, nor no fame so b-
gratfull, which shall not with due commendations
extoll you to the starres. Though I was determined
still to haue fled, whereunto my heart never agreed:
yet nowe I haue conceiued such a trust of your vertue
and meanehode, that I purpose to passe against mine en-
emis. How long shall I be as a banished man with-
in mine owne dominion, and lie from a straunge and a
sovreine Prince within the boundes of mine own king-
dome? When I may hazarding of the battaile, eyther
recover that I haue lost, or els dye an honest death?
Except peraduenture it semeth better to some menne,
that I shoulde submit my selfe to mine enemies wyll,
and by the example of Mazeus & Mithrenes, receive
by petition the dominion of some one Nation: wherin
I judge that Alexander had rather followe the incli-
nation of his glorie then of his wrath. So let the gods
never graunt that it may lie in any mans power, either
to take away, or give vnto me this Diademe vpon my
head, nor that I loose this Empyre so long as I haue
breath. For in this I am determined, that my life and
my kingdome shall end both togither. If this mynde
remaine likewise in you, and if this lawe bee grafted in
your hearts: there is none of you that can want liber-
tie, there is none that shall be compelled to endure the
yerksonnes of your enemies, neither their proud porc,
nor their stately looks. Every mans right hande shall
then gue vnto himselfe either a revenge, or an ende of
all chearefull chilles. Nothing can stand long in one staye.
I my selfe am example of the alteration of fortune: &
therefore it is not without cause that I loke for a bet-
ter chaunge. And if the wort fall, that the Gods wyll
needs be against vs in our warres that be lawfull and
honest, yet it cannot be taken from vs, but that we may
alwaies manfully and honestly die. I require & make
intercession vnto you by the honor of our predecessors,
that with such fame and glorie possessed the kingdome
of the whyle Orient, by those men to whom Macedon
sometime was tributary, by so many Raunes of shis
sent into Greece, and by so many victories wonne, that
ye will take such courage and heart vnto you, as maye
seine worthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that

with

with the same constancie of mynd wherewith ye haue
entred things past, you wil proue and attempt what
soever fortune sends to you haereafter. I am resolued
for my part to gette my selfe either perpetuall fame by
the victory, or by the notable aduenture we wyll gaine
for the winning thereof.

When Darius had spoken these words, the
representation of the present perill so amazed
them all, that they were not able to shewe their
aduise, or to speake a woord to the matter, till
such time as Artabasus the mooste auncient of
his freendes (which before time had beene wyth
king Philip) began to say his fantasy.

We are come into the field (quoth he) with you that
is our king, in our mooste pretious appatell, and richest
armour, with the intent to win the victroy: and if ne-
cessarie require, not to refuse death.

To whose words al the rest with their voices
seemed to agree sauing Nabarzanes, who being
present in that councell with Bessus, and of his
opinion, conspired a treason so wonderfull, that
the like hath seldom been heard of before. Their
determinatiō was, by force of the scouldiers they
had under their charge, to put their king in hold
with this purpose, that if Alexander pursued
them, to deliuere him then alive into his handes
to win his fauor, as a thing which they thought
he would esteeme greatly. But if they could es-
cape conueniently, then they were in minde to
kill Darius, and devideing the kingdom betwixt
them, renue againe the warre against the Ma-
cedons. They having imagined this treasō long
before in their minde, Nabarzanes thought this
an

an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wick-
ed intent, by a perswalsō which he ther offered.

I knowe (quoth he) that I shall speake the thyng
which in the first appearance shall not be grateful vnto
your eares: bnt Phisitions vse to cure diseases that be
great, with sharpe and bitter medicines. And the ship-
maisters wher they feare a ship-wrake, accustomē to
redēme such thinges as may be sauē, with the destruc-
tion and losse of the rest. Yet this matter that I meane
is no perswasion to losse, but a devise by what meanes
ye may preserue your selfe & your kingdome. We make
a war wherin the Gods seeme manifestly to be against
vs, & fortune ceaseth not obliquitly to pursue vs. It is
needfull therfore that we lay new foundations, & seeks
out men whch haue other fortune. My opinō is ther-
fore, that you deliuer your kingdome vnto some mans
handes whch shall haue the name of king, so long as
your enemis remaine within Asia. And when they be
once departed (whch my mind giveth mee to be shor-
ly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The coun-
try of Bactria is yet untouched, the Indians & Sac-
cans be at your appointment, so many people, so many
armyes, so many thousandes of horsemen and footmen
haue their force in readinesse to venue this war againe.
So that a muche greater force remaineth then that
which is consumed. Why do we then like beastes wil-
fully run to a destruction that is not necessary? It is
the propertie of such as be menne of courage, rather to
despise death then hate the life, & oftentimes by wea-
tires of trauaille, cowardes are driven to take litle re-
garde of themselves. But vertue leaueth nothing un-
punished. Death being the end of all things, it is suffici-
ent if we go not to it like sluggards. Therfore if we
shall go into Bactria, which is nowe our next refuge:
lette vs for ths times sake make Bessus king, who is
already ruler of that countrey, and when the matters
be once brought to some stay, he shall restore to you the
Empire againe, as to the righteous king.

Although Darius perceiued not the great-
nes of the mischiese that laye hidden vnder hys
wicked

wicked wordes, yet it was no maruile though
he could not abstaine: for he turned towardes
him, and said: When vll slaye, hast thou nowe
found out a tunc infete to disclose the treason y
lyeth in thy hart? & therewithall pulled out his
sword to haue slaine him. If Bessus & the other
Bactriās about him had not letted his purpose.
These pretended to be seise for the matter, but
minded in very deed to bud him, if he had conti-
nued in his purpose. In the mean season Sabar-
zanes escaped away, and Bessus followed after,
who immediately did separate the bandes they
had charge of, from the rest of the armye, be-
cause they would vse them aparte to their pur-
pose. When they were departed, Artabazus
framed his talke according to the estate of the
time then present, and began to pacifie Darius
with words, putting him in remembrance, how
his case was such, that it behoued him to beare
quietly the foolishnes or rather the error of his
owne men, so as much as Alexander was at
hande ouer sore an enemy for them, though ther
wers no discord nor disobedience. But if we shal
be at variance (quoth he) when he both pur-
sue vs, our matters shall stande in verry euill
plight. Whereupon Darius inclined somwhat
to Artabazus advise, & though he was determin-
ed to remoue: yet because he perceiued enerie
man to be troubled in minde, remained still in y
same place. But he himselfe was so affoyed
with feare and desperation, that he kept him
selfe

selfe close and came not forth of his pavileon: Wherupon the campe being without gouernement, the heads not consulting togither as they did before, there arose amongst them great diversitie of opinions, & motions of mind. Which thing when Partron sawe, that was Capitaine of the Greeke souldiers, he willed his menne to put on their armour, to bee in a readines to doe what they shall be appointed. The Persians encamped by themselves, and Bessus remained amongst the Bactrians, practising to carry away the Persians into Bactria, and to leau Darius: signifying to them the riches of that Regio, yet vtouched, and the perill they were in if they remained still. But they were all in maner of one opinion, y it was too great an offence for them to forsake their Prince. In the meane season Artabasus executed the kinges office, and went amongst their lodgings, admonishing and exhorting them, sometimes aparte, and otherwhile altogether, and would neuer leau them, before they would doe as the king woulde haue them. That done with great paine and difficultie, he perswaded Darius to take his meat, and to set his minde vpon his busines. But Bessus and Nabazanes were so greddie to get the gouernement into their handes, that they resolued to put in execution the thing they had long conspired betwixt them. For so long as Darius was in sauagarde, they coulde not hope to compass ney attaine to so great power & authorite:

sye: the maiestie of a king is had in so great veneration amonsgst those nations: at whose onlie name they assemble togither, and the reverence vsed to them in theyr prosperitie, cause men to shew them the like obedience in aduersitie. The greatnes and power of the Countries whereof, Bessus and Nabazanes had the rule, not being inferior to anie other nations in that part of the world, eischer in men, in furniture, or largenes of their territory, gaue a great encourage vnto their wicked dispositions in attempting of this matter. For they possessing the thrid part of Asia, were able to make as great number of men, as Darius before had lost. In confidence whereof, they not onlie despised Darius, but Alexander himselfe, purposing when they were once become Lords of that Countrie, to reenforce from thence againe the power of the Empire, and maintaine the warres against the Macedons. When they had long devised and debated these thinges, they determined to take Darius by the Bactrian souldiers, of whō they had the rule, and then to sende word to Alexander that they rescrued them alive, to deliver him vnto his handes. And if so be that Alexander shoulde not accept their doing, (which in dede they doubted) then their purpose was to kill Darius, and with their power to flye into Bactria. But for somuch as they saw that Darius could not be taken openlie, seeing thers were so manie thousands readie to ayde him:

and

and fearing also the fidelite of the Grecies, determined to worke by sleighe the thing, that they could not bring to passe by force. Their deuise was to counterfeyte a repentaunce of their former doynges, in excusing to the King the feare they were in. And in the meane season they sent certeine to practise with the Persians, and to proue their minds. The souldiers were tossed to and fro with hope and feare. Some tyme they thought that by leauing of their king they shoulde conuict them selues to manifeſt ruyne and destruction: and again they remembred what entartaynement was promised them in Bactria that laye open for them, where they shoulde bee receyued with ſuch giſtes and ryches as they coulde not well imagine. Whilſt Bessus and Nabazanes were beatyng of thofe thinges in their heades, Artabasus came vnto them, declaring howe Darius was well pacified, and that they myghte if they woulde, bee in the ſame estate and degree wyth hym that they were in before. There vpon they fell to weeping and purging of them ſelues, requaſing Artabasus that hee woulde take vpon him the deſence of their cauſe, and carge their request and ſubmiffion vnto the kyng. The night was conuerted in thiſ kind of busines. When it was daye Nabazanes with the Bactrian ſouldiers ſtoode at the entrye of the kynges lodgyng, colouring his priuye Treafon wyth a ſlempyne pretence of doing his dutie.

Darius

Darius caused warning to bee giuen for his retorne, and ſo mounted vpon his chariot after his accuſtomed maner. Nabazanes and the other traytors fell vpon the ground to wooſhip hym, and ſhed teares in token of repentaunce, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is ſo apt to diſſimulation. Darius beeing of a ſimple and gentle nature, was enforced through their behauour not onely to beleue that they preten ded, but alſo cauſed hym to weepe for ioye: yet that could not cauſe the traytours to alter their purpose, when they perceiued what kynde of manie, and what manner of Prince they wente about to deceiue. Darius doubting no thing of his perill ſwas next at hand, made all the haste he coulde to eſcape Alexander, whome he onelye doubted. Patron that was capitaine of the Grecians, commaunded his ſouldiers to put on their harness, which they caried before in truſſes, and to bee readie and attende to euery thing that ſhould bee appoynted them. For hee vnderſtanding the Treafon that Bessus wente about, followed the kynges Chariot, ſeeing occation to ſpeakē with him. And Bessus doubtiug the ſame thing, would not depart fro the Chariot, but followed rather as a watch, then a wayter. Patron therefore having tary ed long, and interrupted oftentimis as he was about to ſpeakē, ſtoode in a ſtayc betwixt feare and fidelite, beholding the kyng in the face.

When

Whan Darius perceiued that he beheld him after that manner, he willed Bubace his Eunuche that rode next him, to enquire of Patron if he had anie thing to saie to him. Patron said yea: but his matter was such as he woulde no man shold heare. Then he was willed to come neare, and without anie interpretour (Darius vnderstanding somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron said vnto him.

Sixty thousand Greekes that serued you, there is a small number of vs remayning, which haue continuallie followed you in all sortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that we did in your most florishing estate. And are determined wheresoeuer you be, to take that for our Countrie and home: both prosperitie and aduersitie hath so coupled vs together. By which invincible fydelitie that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within our campe, & suffer vs to be the guard of your person. We haue lost Greece, we haue no Bactria to goe vnto, all our hope is in you, and God grant that all othermen had the like. It is not necessarie I shold speake anie more, nor would not demaunde the custodie of your person being an alpen and a stranger, if I knewe that others were well minded towards you.

Although Bessus was ignorant of y Greeke tongue, yet his conscience pricked him to belieue that Patron had disclosed some such matter, and therefore carrying away some parte of his words, by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his countenaunce, enquired of Patron what moued him to giue him such aduise? Wherupon he thought god not to differre it

any

any longer, but saide: Bessus and Habarzane's worke treason against you, so that your life and your estate stand in extreme perill, and this day shalbe the last eyther to the traytors, or to you. Whose words if Darius had well weighed and regarded, Patron had receyued great glorie of the preseruation of his Prince. But lette them mocke that list, which be perswaded that y state of man is governed at aduenture and by chaunce but I beleue that euery man runneth his race by an immutale order, and an euerlasting appointment, by a knitting togither of causes vnknowne appointed long before. Darius answer was: that although the fidelitie of the Greeke souldiers was sufficiently knowne vnto hym, yet he was determined never to departe frō his owne nation, by whom though he might be deceiued, yet it was harde for him to mistrust the: whatsoever should chaunce to him, he saide, he was minded rather to suffer it amōg his own subiects, then to part away from them, not desiring to live, if his owne souldiers desired not his sauergarde. Whereupon Patron despeyng of the kinges well doing, returned them of whom he had the charge, ready to aduenture any thing for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determined to flea Darius, but fearing y he could not winne Alexanders fauor except hee deliuered his enimic into his handes aline, deferred his purpose to the night folowing. In the meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him

P.J.

thanks

thanks, that he had so warily & with such wise, done auoided the treason of that false Grecian, who being corrupted by Alexander, sought nothing but howe to make a present of his heade: Whereat (he saide) he could not marueile, that a Mercenary man shold leauie any thing vndon for money, being without any pledge of his honestie, without house & home, banished out of þ world, a faint friend, and a doubtfull enemy, to sced here & there at the backe of all men, that wil corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of himselfe, calling the Gods of his countrey to witnes of his innocencie in the matter. Darius by hys countenance seemed to beleue: yet hee doubted not of the truth of the tale that Patron had told him: but he was come to such a point, that it was as daungerous for him not to beleue hys owne men, as to be deceipted. There were xxx thousand, whose lighenes was scared to haue consented to this conspiracie: and Patron had but foure thousand, to whom if he had committed his sauegarde, & thereby condemned the fidelite of his owne nation, he sawe that then they might haue had thercof a godly colour and a pretence to performe the thing that they wente about, and therefore chose rather to be killed innocently, then to giue any occasion whereby he should seeme to haue deserved death. And yet when Bessus purged himselfe, he aunswered: þ he knew there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhood, and that they were deceived that

looked

looked for any reward of treason at his handes, knowing there was no sozer punisher nor reueger of the breach of fidelitie. When the nighte drew neare, the Persians after their accusumed maner put off their armour, and repaired to the next villages to prouide thinges necessarie. But the Bactrians (as Bessus had comman ded them) stood still armed. In the meane season Darius had sente for Artabasus, & shewed hym what Patron had declared. Wherupon Artabasus made no doubt, but that he shold freight waines commit himselfe amongst the Greeks, thinking that the Persians when the kings perill should be published abroad, would ioyn with them. Yet Darius predestitute to his chance, could not bear then any wholesome counsayle, nor sought for any helpe in that case, but embraced Artabasus as though hee shoulde never see him more, and beeing wette with the teares that one of them let fall vpon an other, caused Artabasus to be remoued from him, & because hee would not see his sorrowe in departing from him, he couered his face, and fell flatte upon the ground. Then such as were accoustumied to the guarde of his person, which shold haue beene his defence in all perilles, fledde away, thinking them selues ouer weake for such a number of armed men as they supposed to bee commyng. Then there was great solitaries within hys lodging: for none remained about the king, but a fewe Eunuches, that had no place to re

paire vnto. Then he debated and deuised wyth himselfe alone, sometime one thing, and sometime another: and by and by he wared wearpe of that solitarines which before hee tooke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he beheld and saide.

Go prouide for your selues, whiche according to your dueticcs haue been true to your prince til the last houre. Hære I doo tary for the fatall law of my destinie. Peraduenture ye do marueyle that I do not end mine own life. I had rather die through other mens wickednesse, then by mine owne.

After those wordes, Bubace filled both the kinges lodging, and also the whole campe wyth mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and fearing their clothes, bewailed his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amased for feare, that they durst neither put on their armour, least they might giue occasion to the Bactrians to set vpō them, nor they could not remaine quiet, least thei might seem so wickedly to leau their king. There were clamors throughout the campe of diuers sortes and tunes, without any head, and without any appointment. Such as pertained to Nabazanes and Bessus, deceiued by such lamentation as they heard, brought tydings to the rest, that the King had killed himselfe. Whereupon they repaired thither so fast as they could gallop, and such followed after as they had chosen to be ministers of their mischiefe. Wherē they were

were entered into the kinges pauileon, because the Eunuches declared that he was aliue, they commaunded him to be bound. Thus he which before was caried in a Chariot, and honored of his men like a God, was made prisoner by hys owne seruants without any forreine power, & put into a vyle Cart couered ouer with beastes skinnes: and spoyle was made of the kinges stufte, in such sort, as if it had beeне taken in the warres. And when they had laden themselues with the pray gottē after so foule a maner, they conueyed themselues into their countreys. But Artabasus with those of whō he had the charge and with the Greeke souldiers, tooke the waye towards Parthina, thinking to be more sure any where, then in the fellowship of those traytors. The Persians whō Bessus had burdened with so many faire promises, specially because they had no other man to followe, ioyned themselues to the Bactrians, and the third day ouer-toke them. But to the intent Darius shoulde not want such honour as was due vnto his estate, Bessus caused him to be bound with golden fetters: suche were the despites that his Fortune made him subiect vnto. And for that he shoulde not be knowne by his apparell, they couered the cart with foule hydes of beastes, and caused vi-knowne men to drue it forwards. And least by enquiry in þ army he might be discouered, such as had the charge of him followed a farre off. Wherē Alexander heard that Darius was re-

moued to Echatane, he lefte the way that hee
was in, and with all the spedde that he coulde
make, followed after Darius that was saide to
be gone into Medea. But when Alexander was
come to Taba, which is the chiese Citie of Pa-
rataceu, it was there shewed him by fugitiues
that came out of Darius campe, howe he was
fled with all speed into Bactria. And afterwards
understood the matter more certeinly by Bagi-
stenes of Babylon, who could not affirme direct-
ly that Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but de-
clared that either he was in daunger of death or
of captiuitie. Alexander upon those newes called
his Capitaines togither, and shewed them that
hee had a great enterprise, but such one as the
trauaille was very short. Darius (he saide) was
not farre off, forsaken of his owne membre, and
either taken as a prisoner or els slain. In whose
person he shewed the whole victorie to consist, &
the greatness of the matter to be a reward suffi-
cient of their haste making. They all cried with
one voice that they were readye to followe him
where he woulde go, and that he shoulde not spare
their labour nor their perill, whereupon he con-
ueied his army forwars with maruelous speed
rather in pece, then after the common order of
marching, neither resting day nor night, til they
had passed 8. C. furlongs, & come to the village
where Darius was taken. Where Helen Da-
rius intercourte, who by reason of his sickenes
could not folloe the army, was taken through
Alexander.

Alexanders celerite, who feyning that he fledde
away from his maister, declared the whole mat-
ter: but howe great souer his desire was to o-
vertake his enemies, it was necessary for him
to give his men rest of their trauaile: so y deter-
mining to leaue the rest of his army behind, did
choose out sixe M. horsemen, and added to them
three C. called Dimichas that were footemen,
he awy harnessed, but yet riding on horsebacke,
and when the matter and place required, ligh-
ted and fought on foote. When Alexander was
taking order about these thinges: Drsellus and
Mithracenes, which for the hatred they bare to
Bessus for his treason, fledde from him, decla-
ring to the king that the Persians were but five
C. furlonges off, and proffered to guide hym by
a nearer way. Their comming was gratefull to
the king: for by their conduction in the begin-
ning of the night, he tooke his journey with such
horsemen as he had appointed, willing his foote
battaile to followe after with all spedde possible.
Hee marched forwardes in a square battayle,
and kepte such an order, that he first myght ioyn
with the last, and such as came behinde relieved
them that went before. When they had passed
CCC. furlongs on their way, Boculus the son
of Mazeus, that sometime had borne gouernour
of Siria, mette Alexander, and declared that
Bessus was within two hundred furlonges,
marching with his men out of all order, as one
that dyd caste no doubtes. It seemed to him (he
saide)

said) that they went towards Hircania: wherefore if haste were made, they might soone bee overtaken, and disperckled heere and there out of all aray. And by reason he affirmed that Darius was also yet aliue: Alexander that was hot before in his pursuite, was with his wordes much more pricked forwardes, so that he caused them to put spurres to their horses, & passed forwardes a gallop, going so farre forth, that they myghte heare the noise of their enemies as they marched. But the dust þ arose dimmitid their sight: and therefore he stayed a while till the dust was vanisched away. Then both Bellus perceyued the Macedons, and they sawe the Persians as they fledde. Notwithstanding they had not beene able to haue matched with them, if Bellus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his maister. For besides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, they forswaried and sore trauayled, shold haue had to do wyth them that were lusty and frelh. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put them in such fear, that they could not stay themselues. Then Bellus, and other that were partners of the conspiracie, came to the cart where Darius was, and perswaded hym to leape on horsebacke, and flye from his enemies that were at hande. But hee crying out that the Gods were come to hys revenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, saide: That in no wylle hee would goe wyth tray-

toes: wherewith they were so stirred to wrath that they threwe dardes at him, and lefte him wounded in manye places of his bodye. They thruse in the beastes that drewe the cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwardes and slew his two seruantes that did wayte vpon him. When they had committed this acte, they thought it expedient to disperse themselues in their flying. And so Nabarzanes tooke hys way to Hircania, and Bellus to Bactria, with a fewe horsemen that eche of them had in their compayne. When their souldiours were forsaken of their Capitaines: they scattered here and there, where hope and feare did lead them. There were onelye nine hundred horsemen, which assembled themselves togither, and stood in a manninging whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander understanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Picano before wyth part of his horsemen to keepe them occupied, and he with the rest followed after. There were slaine to the number of three thousand of suche as stode at their defence, and the rest were dryuen in flockes like beastes: from killing of whō Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst all the prisoners there was none that was able to shewe the Cart that carped Darius: for every one was so desirous to finde hym, that as they sawe anye Carte, they sought hym therein: and yet they could perceiue by no mea-nes where hec was become. Alexander made such

The fifth booke

such haste, that scarcely three thousand horsemen followed him of all his number : but the greate number of the Persians fell into their lays that followed behind. It is scarcely credible to be beleued, that there should bee more prisoners taken, then there was men to take them. But fortune in that scare had so taken away their sence, that they could not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of their enemis. In the meane season the beasts that drew Darius wagon, having no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering here & there, had drawne Darius foure furlongs from the place where he was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heate and their hurtes. There was a spring at hande, which certeine that knewe the countrey had shewed to Polystratus a Macedon, y^e was overcome for thirst. And whilist he was drincking water out of his helmet, he spyyed the beastes that were thrust in with dartes, and maruellinge that they were not rather carryed away, then herte after that manner : hee looked, and founde in the soule carte the hede of a mannes halfe alue, and at length perceyued it was Darius that laye there sore wounded, and drawing of hys breath. Then Polystratus brought to hym a Persian whome he had taken prisoner. Whome when Darius knewe by his voyce to be of his countrey, he saide : that he tooke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that he shoulde

speake

speake before he dyed to one that understande hym, and not utter hys laste wordes in bayne. He required him to declare vnto Alexander, That though hee had never deserued any thing at hys handes, yet it was his chunce to dis greatly his rebtour, and had thankes to give him for the fauour and goodnesse that he had shewed towards his mother, hys wife, and his children, to whome he had not only graunted life, but also the reverence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas hee of his kininde and frendes, to whome hee had giuen both life and landes, was newe by them bereaued of all. Hee prayed therfore that hee might alwates be victor, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his handes, requiring that hee woulde not neglecte to take vengeance of so foule an acte, not onely for his cause, but for example and the loue of other Princes : which shoulde be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time coming.

When he had spoken these wordes, he fainted & calling for water, after he had dronke, saide to Polystratus that presented it vnto him:

Whatsoeuer thou art, thys is vnto me the last misery in all my aduerser chance, that I am not able to requite thee this benefite. But Alexander shall reward thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemencie shewed towards myne. Unto whom in my deale feare thou shalt giue my hande as a pledge of a kinges promise.

And having spoken these wordes, and giuen Polystratus his hand, he died. Whene his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, & there bewailed with tears that it was his chunce to dy a death so unworshyr for so great an estate, and taking of his own cloke to couer the dead corps withall, ador-

ned

The fifth booke

ned the same with all things that pertayned to a king, and sent it to his mother Hysigambis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to bury kings, and to be laide amongst the reste of hys predecessours.

¶ Here the first part of the sixt booke doth want wherein was contained the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons : with the preparation of both nations to the battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexander's Lieutenatn in Macedonia, and the king of the Lacedemonians.

THE SIXT BOOKE OF QVIN-
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



¶ preased forwardes where the fight was most daungerous, and seeing such as made moste resistaunce, put the greater parte of his enemies to flight. Then such as were victoires before began to flie, till they had drawne their enemies greevily following them, out of the streight into a more playne ground. In the retire many of the were slaine : but when they had once recovered such a ground where as they might stay and fal in order, the battailes ioyned equally againe on both sides. Amongst them al the king of the Lacedemonians appereed most notable in al mens eyes, not so much by the beautie of his armour and goodly personage, as through the greatnessse of his courage, wherein onely he could not be overcome. Hee was laide to on all partes, both neare hande, and a farre off. Yet for all that, hee endured long in Armes against his enemies, avoiding their strokes part with his target, and part with his bodie, till such time as hee was thrust through both thighes with a speare, whē by

by great effusion of bloud he was not able any longer to endure the fight: Then the esquiers for his body tooke hym vp vpon his Target, and caried hym into their campe, that with great paine endured the stirring of his woundes. The Lacedemonians for all their kinnes departure gaue not ouer the fight, but asson as they could recouer any ground of aduaantage, they closed themselves in battaile togither, and received stoutly their enemies that came ful vpon them. There is not found in any memorie, of a battell more vehemently fought then that, where the armyes of two nations that were moche excellet in the warres contended together for the victorie, not enclining to anye parte. The Lacedemonians called to mind their auncient maner and pruwesse, and the Macedons considered their presente estimation they had in the world: the Lacedemonians striued for libertie, and the Macedons for the souvereignty. The one party lacked a Capitaine, and the other roome to fight in. The manisolle adventures & chaunes that fell that daye, encreased both the hope and feare of both parties: Fortune as it were of purpose bringing such valiant men to fighte togither, neyther of them praying vpon other. But the streightnes of the place where in they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and such as stode without daunger, encouraged the other with their crie.

crie. At length the Lacedemonians beganne to faynt, and scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their armour, beganne to drawe backe to haue the moze libertie to fly from their enemies that pressed soze vpon them. When they were once broken and scattered abroade, the victou- rers pursued after. And passing the place wher vpon the Lacedemonians battaile was firste arrainged, made a sore pursuite vpon Agis: who seeing his men flying, and his enemies approach at hand, willed his men to set him down: where stretching himselfe, to feele if the force of his bodie could aunswere unto his hart. When he founde himselfe unable to stande, remaining vpon his knees hee put on his helmet, and co- uering his bodye with his Target, shaked hys speare, and prouoked his enemies to draw neare if any were desirous of the spoile: but ther was not one that pressed neare him, but did cast darts a farre off, which hee alwaines tooke and threwe at his enemies againe, till such time as he was thrust into the bare brest with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, he faynted, and bowing himselfe vpon his target, shortely after fell downe deade, bloud and lyfe fayling bothe together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians, five thousands, three hun- dred and forty: of the Macedons not passung three hundred. But there was scarcelie any of them that escaped unbownd. This victorie brake the hearts, not onelie of the Lacedemonians and

of their confederates, but also of other which lay
in wayte looking for the successe of that warre.
Antipater was not ignorant howe the counte-
naunces of such as did gratify his victorie, diffe-
red much from the intentes of their harts : but
desirous to finish the warres that was begunne
perceiued it necessary for him to dissemble, and
suffer himselfe to be deceived. And though he re-
ioiced much in the fortune of the thing, yet hee
feared the enuy that might ensue thereof beeing
a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenant
did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature,
that he desired that his enemies had wonne the
victorie: shewing manifestly that he was not co-
tent with Antipaters good successe : thinking
that what honour soever chaunced to any other
man, was a derogation to his owne glory. Anti-
pater therefore which knewe full well his sto-
macke, durst not vse the victorie according to
his owne wil, but assembled a councel of Greeks
to aduise what they thought expediet. The La-
cedemonians made no other request, but y they
might send embassadours unto Alexander, which
upon their repaire to him, and their suite made
obtained a generall pardon for all men , sauing
for such as were the authors of the rebellion.
The Megapolitans, whose Citie did abyde the
siege , were compelled to pay as a fine for their
rebellion xx. talents to the Athenians , and the
Aetolians. This was the end of the war, which
beeing sodeinly begun, was ended before that A-

lexan-

lexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella.
Assone as his minde was deliuered of those pre-
sent cares , as one that could beare better the
warres then quietnes, hee gaue himselfe all to
pleasures, by the vices whereof hee was over-
come, whome no power of the Persians, or any
other was able to subdue. He was giuen to ban-
queting out of season, and to a sonde delight of
drinking, and watching in playes among flocks
of Concubines , that drewe him into straunge
maners and customes. Which he following as
thinges better then his countrey usages, offend-
ed thereby greatly both the eyes and the harts
of his nation, and caused manye that loued hym
beside entirely, to hate him then as an enemie.
For the Macedons that were oblligate in kee-
ping their owne discipline, and accustomed not
to be curious, but so scarce in their diet as might
suffice nature, when they sawe him go about to
bring in amongst them the vices of those nati-
ons which they had subdued : conspiracies then
began to be made against him, mutinie rose a-
mongst the souldiers , and euerie one complai-
ning to another, frely vttered their griefs, wher-
by he was prouoked to wrath, to suspition, and
sodeine feare , diuers other inconveniences en-
suing there-upon, which shall be declared here-
after. Alexander being giuen as it hath been said
before to vreasonable banqueting, wherin he
consumed both day and night : when he was sa-
tisfied of eating and drinking , passed ouer the

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time

time with playes and pastimes. And not content with such Musitians as he brought out of Grece, caused the women that were captiue, to sing before him such songes as abhorred y eares of the Macedons not accustomed to heare such thinges. Amongst those women Alexander spyed one more sadde then the rest, which wyth a certaine shamefassnes did striue with them that brought her forth. She was of excellent beautie, and through her shamefassnes her beautie was augmented. Because she did cast her eyes towardes the earth, couering her face so much as she might: gaue suspition for him to thynde that she was come of greater nobilitie, then y she ought to be brought in such kinde of pastimes. And therefore being demaunded what she was: she wied her selfe to be the Peice of Dcchus, that lately reigned in Persia, and the wife of Hystaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had beeene his Lieutenant ouer great armyes. There yet remained in the kinges heart some small sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate, being come of a Kinges bloud, and the reverence he bare to such a name, as y Peice of Dcchus, commaunded her not onely to be set free, but also to bee resciozed to her goddes and her husband, whom he willed to bee sought out. The nexte day hee appoynted Ephestion to bring all the prisoners unto the court, where enquyzing of the nobilitie of euery one, comanded them which were descended of noble bloud

to be seuered from the reste; amongst whome they founde Dratres brother to Darius, y was no lesse noble of mind then of bloud. There was made of the laste spoile xxvj. thousand talentes, wherof xv. thousand were consumed in rewards amongst the men of warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that was conuied away by them that had the keping therof. There was one Oridates a noble man of Persia, that was put in prison by Darius, and appointed to suffer death, wheme Alexander deliuered, and gaue unto him the seigniorie of Medea, and received Darius brother amongst the number of his frendes, reseruing to him all the accustomed honor of his Nobilitie. When they came to the countrey of Parthenia, then beeing but obscure and unknowne: but nowe the head of all those countreys which lye vpon Tigris & Euphrates, and be bounded with the red sea. This countrie being fruitful and abundant of all things, was taken by the Scithians, which possessing parte of Asia and Europe, be troublesome neighbours to them both. The Scithians which inhabite vpon the Bospheron sea, are ascribed to be in Asia. And such as be in Europe possesse the countreyes lying on the left side of Thrace, so far as Bosithenes: and from thence right forth so far as the River Thanais, y parteth Europe & Asia. It is certeine that the Scithes, of whome the Persians bee descended, came not from Bospheron, but out of Europe. There was a

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noble Citie in those daies, called Hecatomphios, builded by the Greces, where Alexander remained with his army, conueighing vitayles thither from all partes. Amongst the souldiers lying there in idlenesse, there rose sodeinly a rumour, entred into their heads without any certeine authour or beginning. The rumor was, how that Alexander satisfied with the acts that he had done, purposed immediately to retourne into Macedon. This fame was not so soon sown abroad, but that they ranne like madde men to their lodginges, and trussed vp their baggage & their stufse: making such preparation to depart that euery man iudged warning had beeне gyuen to remoue, & that the thing had beeне done by appointment. The tumult that did rise in þ campe by loding of carriages, and by the calling the one made vnto another, came vnto þ kinges eares. This rumor obtained the sooner credit by the dispatch of cerfeine Grecke souldiers, whom Alexander had dismissed into their cuntry, with the gift of sixe thousand deniers to euery horse-man: thereupon taking occasion to thinke that the warre was at an ende. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into India, and the vttermost boundes of the Orient, was no lesse afraid of this matter, then the case required. And therfore calling before him the Captaines of his arme, with the feares in his eyes made a greate complaint vnto them: that in the middle course of his glorie he shold thus be pulled backe, and come

compelled to retourne into his countrey rather as a man vanquished then as a victor. Which misfortune (he saide) he coulde not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge that their cowardnes did giue impediment to his proceedinges, but þ it was onely the enuye of the Gods, that put so sodeine a desire of their countrey into þ mindes of valiaunt men, which within a while shoulde haue retourned with greater glorie and fame. There-uppon they all promised to trauell in reformation of the matter, offering them-selues in all thinges (were they never so difficult) to doe as he would haue them. And they promised also the obedience of the sondiers, if so bee that he would make some gentle and apt oration to pacifie them: which were never yet seene to depart from him in any desperation or disturbāce of mind, if they once behelde the cheerefulnes of his countenance, & the courage proceeding from his hart. He promised so to do, & required at their hand to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to giue him eare. When all thinges were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his army togither, & made this Oration vnto them.

When ye consider (my souldiers) the greatnes of the actes which ye haue don, and the manifolde conquests that yee haue made, it is no marueil at all that yee bee inclined to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame and glorie. For leauing to speake of the Illirians, & Triballes, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Achaeans, and Peloponessians. Whome I haue subdued, part in person, and the reste by appointment: I will not

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make rehersall of the warre we began at Helespont, & how we deliuered from the intollerable seruite of þ barbarian nations Ionas, & Neolides, & got vnto our possession both Caria, Lidea, Capadocia, Phrigia, Pamphagia, Pamphilia, Pisides, Cilicia, Siria, Phenices, Armenia, Perse, Mede, & Parthenia. We haue gotten more countries then other haue taken cities, & yet I am surc the multitude hath cauied me to leaue some of them unrehearsed. If I could thinke that the possessiō of these lands that we haue conquered in so short time could remaine sure vnto vs: then (my souldiers) I would, though it were against your willes, breake from you to visite my house & my home, to see my moþher, my sisters, and my countrey men, to enjoy there the laud & glorie that I haue gotten with you, whereas the ioyfull conuersation of our wines, our childdren and parents, peace, quietnes, and a sure possession of things gotten through our valiantnes do tary for vs, as large rewardes of our victory. But if we will confesse the truth, this newe Empire which we haue not yet acconuauement, but is kept as it were by way of entreacie doth require a time, that this stiffe necked people may learne to haire our poike, and by framing their dispositions to a more humanitie, bring their cruel nature to a more ciuell conuersation. Doe we not see that the come in the field alþeth a time for his ryping, & though the same be without iente, yet hath it his course to be brought to perfection. Doe you beleue that so manye Nations not agreeing with vs in Religion, in custom noȝ in use of tongue, accustomed to the Empire and name of an other man, will vbe conquered and brought to subjection with the winning of one battayle? No, trulynre, they be kept under with the feare of our poise, and do not obey vs of their owne good wylles. And they which shewe you obedience when yee bee here amoung them, when you bee absent will bee your enemies. You must thinke that you haue to doo with wylde beastes, saþch þing ferce of nature when they bee first taken, must bee shutte vp, and tamed with tyme. Hitherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the whole Dominion that pertayned to Darius, which is nothing so.

for Nabarzanes posseth Hircania, and the traytoures of Bellus not onely enioyeth Bactria, but also threatheneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Massagetes, Hazgans, and the Indians, remayne yet in their owne libertie and iurisdiction, whiche shall not see our backes so soone turned, but they wyll followe vs in the tailes. They all haue a certeyne frendshippe and amitie one wþ another: but we haue all straungers and forreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that wþt me gladly haue obedient to Rulers of his owne Nation, then to forreyners, haue their government neuer so terrible. Wee ar driven of necessitie therfore to winne that we haue not, or els to lose that we haue alreadis gotten. As P̄sitions in sickie bodys will leaue no humour that may hurte: so lykewile we must cutte away whatsoeuer shall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not seen great fires risen of smal sparkes not regarded? Wee maye not neglect any thing in our enemies: whom the more wee despise, the more strong wee make them. And because you haile not thinke ye such an impossibility for Bellus to make himself king, where vs a kyng wanteth, you shall understand that Darius came not to his Empire by inheritance, but got into the seate of Cirus, by the benefite of Bagoas hys Eunuch. Wee commit an heynous offence (my Souldyers) if we make warre agaynst Darius, and put hym downe, for the intente to giue his kyngdome unto hys seruaunt, yea, and to such a one as attempted so vyle an acte agaynst hys maister, at suche a tyme as he had moſte neede of helpe, and whome we beeing his enemyses woulde haue spared: he being his subject, put hym in cheynes as a captiue, and finally slew hym because he shoulde not be preserved by vs. Shall you suffer this kynde of manie to reigne? No let vs make all the sped we may to see him crucified, and so to shewe to all kinges and Nations a Justice done vpon one, that so vildly falsified his faith. If the reporte shoulde come vnto you vding in your owne Countreyes, that the same man were destroying of the Greeke Cittie about Hellespont: O G OD howe sorie would you be then, and howe much would you lamente that Bellus shoulde enioy that you

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haue gotten, and bsurpe the rewardes of your victoires. Then would you make hast to recouer your owne, the which better is it nowe to oppresse him whilste he remaineth in such feare, and is vncerteine which way to take : Shall we spare to spend foure daies iourney to come to him, that hane ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue climbed so many mountaines : to whose iourney the flowing sea could be no impediment, nor the streight of Cilicia coulde shut vp our way : Howe all thinges are made playne and open, and wee stande in the entry of our victorie. There bee but a fewe fugitiues & killers of their masters that do remaine. What more notable woorke can you leue vnto your posteritie, to bee registered by fame vnto your glorie, then to revenge such as were traytors to Darius ? You shall thereby shew that when you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked man could escape your handes. Which thing if you bring to passe, howe much more obedient do you thing the Persians shal be vnto you, when they perceyue you to take iust warres in hand, & that it was not Bessus name wherewith ye were offended : but with his faults and euil doings.

This Dration was received of the Souldiers with such gladnes, that they streight way desirred him to carry them whither he would. And he that could vse the occasion of their good mood, passed through Parthenia, and came to þ bounds of Hircania, leaving Craterus with the bande, whereof he had the rule, & sixe thousand horsemen, of whome Amintas had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende Parthenia from the incursion of the barbarous nations. He appointed Erigenus a small power to attende vpon his carriages : willing him to passe with them through the plaine countrey, and he hims

of Quintus Curtius.

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himselfe with his footmen, and with the reste of his horsemen, marched forwardes, a hundred & fiftie furlonges, and encamped in a valley at the entry of Hircania. In the same place bee great wooddes full of high and thicke trees, & the bottome of the valley is very fruitfull, by reason of the springs that come forth of the rockes. Out of the foote of the mountaines there riseth a Riuier called Zioberis, which within iij. furlonges of the heade, is deuided by a rocke, stan ding in the middest of the streme, causing the water to go two sundry wayes : Which afterwardes comming againe into one chanell, runneth more violently then before, by reason of þ fall from the rockes. And sodeinly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of threé hundred furlonges, and then commeth forth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in breadth thirteene furlonges, and as it runneth forwards, draweth more narowe, and falleth into an other streme, named Rhydago. The inhabitors of the countrey affirmed that al thinges cast in where the streme sunke into the ground, would appere and come out again at the next issue. For the prouing of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulles to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were founde by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streme brake out againe. In this place he refreshed his army foure daies: during which time Pabarzanes (which was con federate

concoerate with Bessus in killing of the king) did write letters to him in effect,

How that he was no enemy unto Darius, but coun-
tailed him euer to do such thinges as he iudged most
profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in
daunger of his life by him, who went about against all
reason to com mit the custodij of his person to straun-
gers, condemning theredy the fidelitie of his owne na-
tion, which they had kepte buspotted towardes their
kinges the space of CCC. yeeres: Therefore seeing
himselfe in that perill and daunger, hee tooke counsaile
of his present necessities. And alledged that it was al-
ways admitted lawfull for a manne to kill such a one
whome he knewe to conspire his death, which was an
excuse (he said) wherewith Darius satisfied the peo-
ple, whē he had slain Bagoas. He alleged that nothing
was more deere to mortall creatures then life, for the
lone whereof he was driven to this extremitie, in com-
mitting an acce which necessitie rather compelled him
to do, then his owne disposition. For in a general ca-
lamitie every man hath his fortune. If hee woulde
commānd him to come to his presence, hee sayde, hee
would not refuse to do it: for he could not feare that
so great a king would byolate his promise, seeing one
God is not wont to deceiue another. But if he should
see me bywoþ him to whome he would giue his assur-
raunce, there were many countreipes for him to flie unto.
For all men having vertue in them, count alwaies
that for their countrey, where they make their dwel-
ling place.

Alexander made no stay to give him his faith
after such sorte as the Persians vsed to receive
promise: which was, safelij to come and go. Not
withstanding hee marched in order of battaille,
sending ouer scouts before to discouer y ground.
The light armed were appoynted for the van-
gارد: the phalanx followed after, and the bag-
gage behinde. For by reason the same was a

War-

warlike nation, and the countrey hard to enter
vpon: it caused the king to looke earnestly vpon
the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to
the Caspian sea, the bankes thereof resembling
the hornes of the Moone before it commeth to y
full, the Sea lying betwixt them like a greate
Bay. Upon the leste hande the people inhabite
that be called Cercetes, which lie open towaards
the North, and vpon the other part the Leucis-
rians, Molynes, & Chalibes, & the plaines of the
Amazons lye towardes the West. This Sea
which some call the Caspian, and some the Hir-
antan sea, being more swete then any other,
bringeth forth Serpentes of a wonderfull big-
nes, and fishes differing in colour much from all
the rest. There be divers of opinion that y lake
of Meotis shoulde run into this sea, which they
coniecture of the water, thinking the same to re-
ceive his sweetenes of the lake. Towardes the
North the Sea groweth into a flatte shore, and
putteth forth his waters farre vppon the land,
which rising high make many meares and pla-
shes. And as by certeine course of the þlanets
they slowe out, so at a certeine tyme by an ebbe,
they retorne in againe, restoring the grounde
to his former estate. Some beleue those waters
to bee no parcell of the Caspian Sea, but y they
come out of India, and runne into Hircania,
which lyeth lowe in the forsfide valley. The
king being remoued from that place, marched
forwardes twentie furlonges in a wilde deserte
way

way, where great wooddes hong continually ouer their heades, and brookes of water and mire gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherein besides other victuals (whereof it did abounde) grewe great plentie of apples, and the ground was very apte for bynes. There were also plenty of a certeine kind of trees much like unto okes, whose leaues were couered with hony, which the inhabitors gather before the sunne rising: for els the moisture would be dryed vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed xxx. furlonges more towardes Phrataphernes met him, yeelding both himselfe, and such other as fledde after Darius death, whom he received gently, and came to a towne called Aricas. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringing with them Phradates that had the rule of the Tapurians: whose frendly receiuing and gentle enterteinment was the cause that many followed his example, in committing themselues to Aleanders mercie. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania: who beeing a banished man in the time of Occhus, came to king Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office hee had before. When Alexander was come to the uttermost boundes of Hircania: Artabasus whom hee declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and chil-

dren, and with a smal band of Greeke soldiars. The king at his comming proffered him hys hande, because he had beeene enterteined before by king Philip, when he was banished by Occhus: but the chiese cause that he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitie that hee obserued towardes his Prince. He beeing thus gently receiued by Alexander, said vnto him:

Sir, long may you florish & reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioice in all other thinges, with one am chiefly greeued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shal not be able long to enjoy your godnes. He was fourscore and five yeres of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whome he presented before the king, praying God to continue their liues so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walke on foote, but then least the olde man might be ashamed to ryde, he going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, hee sente for the Greekes that Artabasus brought. But they made request first that he would giue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or els they would take aduise amongst themselues what were best to do: The same were the Embassadores that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius: which after the battell, ioyned themselues to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The king willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, & come to receiue such appointment as he would giue them. They stood long in a stay, varying in opinions;

nions : but at length they agreed so to doe : having Democrats of Athenis, which chiefly had ever oppugned the successe of the Macedons, who by sparing of pardon slew him selfe . But the other, as they had determined , submitted themselves to Alexanders will, being x. M. v.C. in number, besides fourescore and ten of such as were sent Embassadors unto Darius . The more parte of the Souldiers were distributed amongst the bandes to fill vp the numbers that wanted, and the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to bee put in prison . There was a nation called Marbons, bounding next to Hircania, rude in their manners and usages , accustomed to lyue by theft: They neither sent Embassadors, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders commaundement : heeooke thereat great indignation that any one people should giue impediment to his victorie, and therefore leaving a guarde for his carriages, went against them w a strong power . He marched forwardes in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in sighte . But the matter came rather to alarme then to any fight . For the enemies were some driven from the hilles, who flying away, left their villages to bee sacked by the Macedons . But the armye could not passe into the inward partes of the countrey without great trouble and veration , the same beeing compassed about with hygh mountaines , greate Woods

woods and deserte rockes, and the partes which were plaine were defended with a strange kind of fortification, y is to say with trees set thicke of purpose, the boughes whereof when they were young, were wreathed one within another: The topes hewed downe were put into the ground again, from whence as out of another root there sprung newe braunches . They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knitte them so one with another, that when they were ful of leaues, they covered cleane the earth . The trees thus wreathed one with another, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a continual hedge, & were as snare to entangle such as would go about to enter . There was no way could be devised to passe through y same, but onely by cutting downe of the wood . And therein they found a great difficultie, and much troualle , by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes kepte them off from the bodyes of the trees , and the weakenes of the boughes so yalded to y strokes that they coulde not easly bee cutte a sonder : The inhabitors of the countrey were accusid to crepe amongst the brush like wilde beastes, and by priuie salies brake cut vpon their enemies . Alexander therefore caused his menne after the maner of hunters to seek out their lurking places, and killed manye of them . But at length he enuironed the wood with his Souldiers rounde about, so the intent they might breake

The sixt booke

breake in at euery place, where they shold spye any entry. In doing whereof, many wandred & lost their company in places that they knewe not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them Bucephalus Alexanders horse, whome he did not citerne as men do other beastes: for he would not suffer any other man to leape vpon him: and when the king would ride he woulde kneele downe vpon his knees to receiue him, so that he seemed to haue the sence to vnderstande whome he caried. Alexander was more sorrowfull, and stirred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause for searching about to get the horse againe, he caused proclamation to be made by an interpresor, that except he were restored, he would not leau one of the countrey men aliue. Whē they heard this terrible threatening, amongst other giftes they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but comanded the wooddes to be cut downe, and the waies to be made plain which he cut through þ woods. This worke went so well forward, that the inhabitors dispeiring of abilitie to defend the countrey, yeilded themselues to the king. Who receiuing their pledges, committed them to the keeping of Phradates, and from thence the fifth day retourned againe to his campe. There hee gaue to Artabasus the double honour that Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe in to his countrey. After that he came to the Cittie

of

of Hircania, where Darius Palacie was, Parazane vpon assurance came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongst the rest presented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuch of singuler beautie, being in the first flower of his age whom Darius accustomed, & after Alexander: at whose intercession specially he did pardon Parazanes. The nation of the Amazons, beeing neere vnto Hircania (as hath beeene saide before) did inhabite the playnes of Themyscire about the Riuier of Thermodoonta, and had a Quene reigning ouer them called Thalestris, which kepte vnder her dominion all the countreys betweene the mount Caucasus, & the Riuier of Phasis. She for the great affection shes had to see Alexander, trauailed out of her owne countrey, and beeing come neere where he was, sent certeine before that a Quene was come of desire to visite him, and to make her acquaintance. When libertie was giuen her to come to his presence, she caused al the rest of her band to staye, and she came forwardes accompanied with threē hundred women. Assoone as she perceiued Alexander, she leaped from her horse, carrying two Launces in her hande.

The Amazons apparell is such, that it doth not couer all their bodyes: for their brestes bee bare on the left side, and their garments which they vse to knit vp with a knotte, come not to their knees. One brest they alwaies reserue untouched wherewith they nourish their women

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children, but their right brests they vse to seare; to make them more apt to drawe their bowes, and cast their dartes. Thalestris looked vpon Alexander with a bolde countenance, and considering in beholding of him, that his personage answered not to the fame that she had heard of his acts. For the barbarous nations gaue great veneration to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to bee sufficient for the doing of great acts, but such as nature hath endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her if she had any request to make unto Alexander: Whereat she was not abashed to confesse that she was come thither to get children with him: thinking her selfe a personage worthy of whom he should get heires to inherite his kingdome, wherein shee couenanteth that if it were a woman she would keepe it still, & if it were a man childe, she would restore it to the Father. Alexander enquired of her if she would go forwards with him in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that she had left no order for the defence of her kingdome. But she continued stil in declaration of the cause of her comming, and required that her hope therein might not be in vaine. The womans appetite seemed to be more vehemently giuen to lust then the kinges was: yet she obtained of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirteene daies in satisfying of her de syre. That done she departed to her owne kingdome, & Alexander went to Parthenia, which was

Was the place where he first shewed manifestly the vices that were in him. There he turned his continencie and moderation, beeing the mooste excellent vertues appéaring in anie kinde of estate, into pryde and voluptuousnes, not esteeming his countrey customes, nor the wholesome temperaunce that was in the usages and discipline of the kinges of Macedon. For hee judged their ciuyle usage and manner to bee ouer base for his greatness: but did counterfeyte the height and pompe of the kinges of Persia, representing the greatness of the Gods. He was content to suffer men there to fall downe flatte upon the ground, and worship hym, and accustomed the victourous of so manye Nations, by little and little to serayle offices, coveting to make them lyke unto his captives. He ware vpon his heade a Diadem of purple, interpalled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after the maner of the Persians, without scrupulositie of anye euill token that it signified for the victour to change his habit into the fashion of him whom he had vanquished. And though he had vauted hee ware the spoyles of his enemies: yet wyth those spoyles he put vpon him their euill manners: and the insolencie of the mynde, followed the pride of the apparaile. Besides hee sealed such letters as hee sente into Europe with hys accustomed seale: but all the letters he sente abroad into Asia, were sealed with Darius King. R.y. So

So it appereed that one minde could not beare þ
greatnes that apperteined to twoo. He apparai-
led also his frends, his Capitaines, and his horse
men in Persian apparell, wherat though they
grudged in their mindes, yet they durst not re-
fuse it for feare of his displeasure. His Courte
was replenished with Concubines : for he syll
maistained thre hundred and thre-score that
belonged to Darius, and amongst them were
flockes of Eunuches accustomed to performe
the vse of women. The olde souldiers of Philip
naturally abhorring such thinges, manifestly
withstoode to be infected with such voluptuous-
nes, and straunge customes. Wherupon there
arose a generall talke and opinion throughout
the campe, how that they had lost more by the
victorie, then they had wonne by the warre. For
when they sawe themselues ouercome in such
exesse : and forreyne customes so to preuyale
amongst them, they iudged it a slender reward
of their long beeing abroad, to retourne home in
the habite of prisoners. They began to be asha-
med of their king, that was then more like to
such as were subdued, then to them that were
victorios: and that of a king of Macedon was
become a Prince of Persia, and one of Darius
Courtiers. When he understande that the chiefe
of his frends and his men of warre were gree-
uously offendid with his dwings, he went about
to recouer fauour againe with giftes and libe-
ralitie; but it is to be thought that the rewards
of

of seruite be vngratefull to free menne. And
therfore least this matter might turne into a se-
dition, he thought good to breake the imaginati-
ons encreased by idlenesse with the exercise of
warre, wherof an apte occasion was given.
For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a king, tooke
upon him the name of Artaxerres, drawing to
his part the Scithians and other that were the
inhabiters of the Riuier of Chanais : which
thinges were reported to him by Nabarzanes,
whome he had receiued into his fauour, and gi-
uen the rule of the countrey that he had before.
When he had determined this new expedition,
he found his army so ouercharged & laden with
spoile and other furnitures of voluptuousnes,
that they could not scarcely moue. Wherfore
hee commaunded the baggage and stufte of the
whole army to be brought togither in one place
excepting onely such thinges as were verye ne-
cessarie. The place was large, and plaine whi-
ther the cartes were brought to bee laden: and
when euery one stode wayking & musing what
he would commaund them to do, he caused the
beastes to be remoued first out of the way, and
then set his owne fardels on fire, and after all þ
rest. Whilst these thinges were burning, the
owners were on fire to see those thinges con-
sumed, for the sauing whereof they had oft quen-
ched the flames in Cities of their enemies. Yet
no man durst lament the pice of his own bloud
seeing they sawe the fire consume the kinges ry-
ches

ches as well as their owne : and y rather to pacifie them , the king did mittigate their dolour with a briese Oration. Whereupon they that were ever apte for the warres, and ready to do all thinges, beganne to be ioyfull that wyth the losse of their baggage , they had preserued their discipline accustomed in the warres . As they were setting forwardes towardes Bactria, Pincanor the Sonne of Parnenio dyed sodeinly, whome every man greatly lamented: but chieflye the king was sorrowfull , desiring to haue staied for the celebration of his buriall , but that wante of viciuals caused him to hast forwardes. Phylotas therefore was lefte behinde, with y. thousande and six hundred souldiers to performe the ceremonies apperteining to his brothers buriall, and he himselfe marched towards Bessus. In the waye letters were brought to Alexsus. Ander from the princes thereabout, that Bessus was conunning towardes him with a great army, adding therunc, that Hatribarzanes who he had made Prince of y Arians, was newly rebelled. For that cause notwithstanding he was come nere unto Bessus) he thought it best first to expell Hatribarzanes : and for that intent brought forwardes his horsemen and footemen, that were light armed, to imade him sodeinly. His conunning was not so priupe, but Hatribarzanes knew thereof, and fledde into Bactria, with two thousand horsemen. For by reason he was not able to assemble anye more in so shorte

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a time, the reste tooke the nexte mountaines for their refuge. There was a rock which towards the west was high and steepe, but towardes the East more lowe and easie to be climbed vpon, which parte was full of trees. The same rocke being in compasse xxxij. furlongs, had a fountain running continually, and in the toppe a greene plaine, where they placed the weaker multitude but the rest that were apt for defence, beeing to the number of thirteene thousande, gotte themselves to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe logges and stones vpon the Macedons that came to assaile them . He left Craterus to besiege this rocke, and went in person to pursue Hatribarzanes. And because he understood that he was fledde farre off, retourned backe againe to the siege of them that were vpon the rocke. First he caused all thinges to bee taken away, that might be any impediment to his men in y assault givning. But when they came to y bare and steepe rocke, the labour seemed wast, where nature wrought agaynst them. But hee that was of a disposition alwayes to striue agaynst difficulties, considering howe harde a matter it was to goe forwardes, and howe daungerous to retorne backe againe, did caste in his heade all the wayes and deuyles that could be imagined, and nowe fantasched one thing , and then an other, as men bee wont when that y wayes they haue founde out first doe not please them . As hee stooode in a waye doubting what to doe , for

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tune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the wind blew soze at the south-west, what tune y souldiers had felled great plentie of wood wherof they thought to make scaffolds to mount vp against the Rocke, and the heate of the sunne had made the same drye. When Alexander perceiued the wind to blow after that sort, and the wood lying in that place, he conceiued by and by his purpose, & willed more trees to be cut down, and laide vpon them, putting all other thinges to it, that were apte to kindle and nourish fire: so that trees heaped vpon trees, became as it were a mountaine, so high as the toppe of the Rocke. The same beeing set on fire in all partes at once, the winde caried the flame into the face of their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer y skie. The noise was then great y the fire made, which burned not onely the trees that were fere of purpose, but also the reste of the wood growing neare thereabout. The enemies were so tormented with the flame and heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire gaue them least impediment. But wher the fire gaue place, the Macedons stood in readines to receive them, so that they were consumed and slaine diuers kindes of waies. Some threwe themselues downe the rockes, some ran into the middest of the fire: other fell into their enemis handes; and a fewe halfe consumed

with

with fyre, were taken prisoners. When Alexander had done this acte, he returned to Craterus which besieged Artacnan, who having prepared all thinges in readinesse, taryed onely for the kinges comming, to give him the honour of the winning of the Citie. When Alexander was come, he approached the walles, with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight wherof the inhabitants were so afraid that they held vp their handes from the walles requyring him to spare them, and execute hys wrath vpon Satribarzanes, that was the authour of their Rebellion. Alexander pardoned the frely, and not onely leuyed his siege, but also restored to the inhabitantes all thinges that pertained to them. As he remoued from this Citie, there came vnto him a newe supply of Souldiers. Zoylous brought out of Greece five hundred horsemen, and three thousand which Antipater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred and thirtie Thessalian horsemen with Philip, who also brought of Souldiers straungers out of Lidia, two thousand five hundred footemen, & three hundred horsemen. Alexander having thus increased his power, entered into the countrey of the Dragans, which were a warlike nation, & vnder the gouernement of Sbarzanes, who being of counsell with Bessus in the treason y he committed agaist his priuce, when he heard of Alexanderis comming, for feare of the punishment he has deserued, fledde into India. Thus had

had they lyen in campe nine dayes, when Alexander being without feare of any enemy, & invincible against al forein powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chanced that one Dinnius a man of meane behaviour and authoritie with his prince, was greatly enflamed in the loue of a young man called Nichomachus, with whome he vsed much familiar conuersation. This Dinnius on a tyme being in a passion, (as it well appereed by hys countenance) allured this yong man into a temple: where remaining alone togither, declared that he had certeine secrets to shew him, which in no wise were to be reported againe. Therby he brought Nichomachus in great suspicion, what y matter should be: For before he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue and familiaritie betwixt them, that he would assure him by his oth to keepe the thing secrete: who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, y he ought with periurie and breaking of his oth to disclose the same againe, sware by the Gods there present. Then Dinnius opened vnto hym how there was a treason conspired against the king, which within thre daies should bee put in execution, whereof (he said) he himselfe was priuy with diuers men of nobilitie and estimation. When Nichomachus did heare it to bee such a matter, constantly denied then that his promise extended to conceale Treason, whereunto no oth nor Religion could bynde a manne. When

Dinnius

Dinnius heard him say so, he became in a rage betwixt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the hande, requyring him with weeping eies, that he would not sticke to bee a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at y least if his heart would not serue him, that he would keepe his counsaile secrete, in respect that he had found such profe of loue in him, to commit hys life into his handes without any further profe of his fidelite. But in conclusion, when he perceived that Nichomachus woulde in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, he vsed diuers meanes to bring him to hys intente, one while intreating him with fayre wordes, and another while threatening to kyll him. He called him coward and traytour to hys freend, commending the goodnes of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that they shoulde be partner of the kingdome they went about to get. When hee had proued all these waies, and yet found him strange, he thrust his sword one while to Nichomachus throte, and another while to his owne, so that at length by threatening & fair speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keepe his counsell secret, and also to be assitant to the dede doing. Yet neuerthelesse as one of a constant minde (though for the tyme presente hee seemed to bee worne wyth the loue of his frend, and become agreeable to his requestes) chaunged no parte of hys former purpose. This being don, Nichomachus requi-

required to know what the men were, that had confederated them-selues in so weighty a matter, because the persons (hee saide) were much materiall that shoulde take so great an enterprise in hande. Then Dinnus (though he were in great trouble of minde that he had brought y^e master so far forth) yet when he heard him aske the question, he rejoiced, and thanked him greatly, that he wold so freely associate himself with such maner of men, as Demetrius of the priuy chamber was, Peculaus, Spicanor, Aphobetus, Loceus, Diocenus, Archeopolis and Amintas. This cōmunication once ended betwixt them, Nichomacus departed, and disclosed al the matter which he had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeing betwixt them two, that Nichomachus shold remaine secret in his tent, least by his comming to the kings lodging, not vsing to haue accesse unto the king, the conspirators might perceiue themselues bewrayed. Ceballinus repayred to the kinges lodging, and staryed before the gate, wayting for some manere about the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that amongst many which passed by, onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaunded why he wayted there. To whō Ceballinus with a bashed countenaunce (well declaring the unquietnes of his minde) reported all those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requyring him that hee would declare the same immediately to the king. Philotas depar-

ted from him vnto the king, with whome that day he had much cōmunication of other things, & yet opened no part of the same matter which was tolde him by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the Court gate, and enquired whether he had done his message to the king or not. Hee excused the matter that he could finde him at no leysure. The next day Ceballinus met him agayne, going to the king, and put him in remembrance of that he had tolde him before, to whome he aunswered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no parte of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspecte him, and intened no longer to deferre the thing, but opened the same to one Petron Maister of the kinges armay: who immedietly conveyed Ceballinus into the armay, and wente streight to the king which was bathing, and enformed him of all that he had heard. Alexander then made no delay, but sente certeine of his guarde to take Dinnus, and after came himselfe into the armay. As soone as Ceballinus sawe the king, hee ranne to him with great rejoicing, and said, loe I haue preserued thee from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all y^e circumstance, and he againe aunswered to euerie point in order. The king was earnest to know how long it was since Nichomachus had giuen him this information, and he confessed y^e it was three dayes. Whereupon the king consideringe

vering that he could not with truth haue concealed this matter so long, commanded that he should be put in warde. Then cried he out, and declared how y. at the same instant he knew of the conspiracie first, he opened it to Philotas, of whome (he saide) he might enquire the truth. Thereupon it was demanded of him, whether he had required Philotas to bee brought to the kinges presence or no. Which thing when the king by his confession perceived to be true, and that he did stily abide by his first tale, he lyfted vp his hands to heauen, the teares falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that Philotas should require him with such vntruth, whom he most assuredly trusted. Dummus in the means season knowing for what cause he was sent for, wounded himselfe to death: but yet somewhat letted by them that were sent to take him, was brought before the king, whom assone as he beheld, he saide vnto him:

Dummus, what haue I offended the, that thou shouldest thinke Philotas more worthy to be king of Masedon then I?

At which wordes Dummus became speechlesse, and casting forth a great sigh, tourne d his face from the kings sight, & fell down dead. The king called Philotas before him, and said.

This man whom thou here seest, should haue suffered death if it could haue been proved that he had concealed two daies the treason prepensed against me. With the which matter he chargeith thee Philetas: to whom (as he saith) he gaue knowledge immediately, y more neare thou art about me, so much greater is thy offence: and

and the fault had bene more tollerable in him then the. How be it then hast a fauorable iudge: for if there bee any thing that cannot be excused, yet at the least it may be pardoned.

To this Philotas nothing abashed (if the heart may be iudged by the countenance) made aunswere, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of credit to be beleued, and that he feared least by the presenting of such a matter which did rise vppon brabling betwixt two persons of euill dispositiōn, he might haue beeene laughed to scorne: but after wardes when he once knewe that Dummus had slaine himselfe, hee was clearely ther resolute no longer to haue prolonged the thing. And so falling downe before the king, besought him that hee would rather haue respecte to hys life past, then to his faulfe, which was onely a concealement, and no acte done. It is harde to say, whether the king beleued him, or grounded his displeasure more deepeley in his heart: neuerthelesse in token of pardon, hee gaue him hys hande, saying how it appereid that the accusation was rather miscredited by him, then concealed of malice. Notwithstanding hee called hys counsayle togither, amongst whome Philotas was not admittid, but Nichomachus was brought in before them, where hee declared all such matters as he before had shewed to y king. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour with Alexander, which for the envy he had to Philotas aduancement bare him alwaies grudge:

Who

Who knew very well that the king had often beene displeased with Philotas, for y ouer much aduauncing of his god seruice an dvaliant acts; but yet for all that in those matters he was not suspected of treason, but onely noted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that hee could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy, then by colouring his priuate hatred w a pretended duckie towardes his Prince.

Would God (quoth he) ye had taken our couisaile in the beginning of this matter: for if yee would needes haue pardoned him, yee shoulde haue kepte from hys knowledge how much he was in your daunger, rather then to haue brought him in feare of his life: whereby yee shall make him more mindful of his own peril, then of your goodnes. For hee may alwaies imagine your death: but you shall not bec alwaies in case to pardon him. Let it never sinke in your hart, that he which purposed so heynous a treason would chaunge his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon. You knowe well that such as offendre are often in dispire of mercie. And though hee perchaunce either with repentaunce of his fault, or remembrance of your goodnes would chaunge his minde, yet I am sure that his Father Parmenio, generall capitaine of so great an army, and of so groused authoritie amongst your souldiers (that is with them in maner as your selfe) would bee content to bee in your debt for his sonnes life. There bee certeine benefites hatefull to men: and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued death. Therefore I conclude, that hee had rather it shoulde bee thought you had doone him wrong, then that he had giuen him his life. I cannot see therefore, but you shall bee enforced to destroy them for their owne suretie. There be enemies inough remaining yet unconquered, against whom we be going: make your selfe sure from your foes at home, so shall yee haue lesse neede to feare your enemies abroad.

These were Craterus words, and the residue

of the counsaile were of opinion, that Philotas would never haue concealed this conspiracie, except hee had beene either principall or priuye thereto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honest hart, though he had beene none of the kinges familiars, but one of his meane seruantes, hearing so much as Philotas heard, but would forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beeing the sonne of Parmenio, the master of the kinges horse, and of his priuye counsaile, did not so much as the straunger, which streightwaies made relation of that his brother had tolde him. And whereas he pretended that the king was at no leysure, that they iudged to be done, to the intent the accuser should not sack any other to whom he might utter it. Whereas Nichomachus, albeit he was bounde by his oth to the contrarie, yet would he never rest till hee had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in maner the whole day in sport and pastime with the king, could not finde in his hart to cast forth a fewe words, speciallie in a matter so much concerning the kings sauve garde. But admit (quoth they) he had giuen no credite to the matter, through the lightnes of y reporter, why shold he haue deferred the accuser two daies, as though he had beleuued it? For if he had disliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the partie. It was also alledged that euerie mans minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ioperdie. Much more

more ought men to be credulous when it toucheth the safetie of a kings person, in which case it ought to be examined, though it be of small weight. They all therefore determined that Philotas should be enforced to disclose the partners of the conspiracie. The king commanding them to keepe the matter secret departed, and to the intent no inckling should appere of this newe counsaile: he caused it to be proclaimed y^e the army should set forwardes the next day. The same night the king called Philotas to a banquet, with whom he vouchsafed not only to eat, but also familiarly to comune, notwithstanding hee had before in the counsaile determined hys death. After in the second watch of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, & Erigonus, which were of the kinges counsayle, came priuily into the Court without anye lighte, and of the Esquires there came Perdiccas and Leonatus, by whom commandement was given that al such as lay neere the kinges lodging should watch in harnisse. By this time souldiers were appointed to all the passages, and horsemen were sent to keepe the wayes, that no man should passe pryvily to Parmenio, which then was gouernour of Mebea with a great power. Then Attaras came into the court with ccc. armed men, unto whom there was appointed x. of those that had the charge of the kinges person, every one of the accompanied with ten esquires, which were so led into divers companies to take the other com
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spiratours. But Attaras with his ccc. was sente to Philotas lodging, where with fiftie of y^e hardiest brake vp his chamber doore that was shut against them. The residue were commaundered to beset the house, least he might escape by some secret way. Philotas whether it were through the suretie of his owne conscience, or through wearines of such traueil of minde, was in so profound and dead a sleepe, that Attaras brake in upon him before he wist. But at length when hee was awaked and come to hymselfe, perciuing them about to binde him, he exclaimed and saide: O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercie. Speaking these wordes, they couered his face, and brought him into the Court. The next day the king gaue comaunderment that certeine of the men of warre should assemble in harness to the number of six thousand besides slaves & rascals that filled full the Court, which being assyndled togither, the garde compassed in Philotas with their band, to the intent he shold not be espied of the people, vntill such time as the king might speake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons the kinges in their owne persons were wont to enquire in matters of treason: yet could not the kinges authoritie preuaile to condamnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre. Therefore the body of Dymus was first brought into the place, the most part unknowing what he had done, or by

what chaunce he was slaine. Then came the king forth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenaunce declared the dolour of hys heart: and the sadnesse of such as were neare about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. He did cast his eyes towards the earth, and stode long astonyed & in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, & spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some menne I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and prouidence of the Gods I am yet preserued. Your honourable presence doth constraine me more vehemently to be incoued against those traitours, because the onely comfort and fruite of my life is, that I remayne to give thanks to so many noble menne, to whom I am so much bounden.

With speaking of these words the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the feares did fall from their cies. Then the king began againe his tale.

How much more will you bee moued when I shall shewe you the authours of so horible a treason, the rehersall of whiche I yet refraine, as one very loth to discouer their names. But I must ouercome the memory of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for mee to hyde so great a treason: Parmenio a man of that age, so deevely in my debt, through the most ample benefits both of me and my father, and whom I most esteemed of all my frendes is the capitaine and contriver of all this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, & this Dimmus (whose bodie heere you see) with other partners of their fury to my destruction.

When hee came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of a

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murmure and complaint, such as is wont to be amongst a number, and specially of menne of warre, when they are moued either with affection, or displeasure. With that Nichomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus were brought forth, every one of them giuing in euidence that they had spoken before, yet appeared it not by anie mans tale that Philotas was priuie to that conspiracie. But at the lasse when the royle was ceased, and the witnessses had said all they could, the king proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner of minde thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could find in his hart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is wel declared by the death of Dimmus. Ceballinus that reported an vncerteine tale, for the tryall therof was afraide of no tormentes, and neuer delaied the moment of time vntill he had discharged himselfe: in so much that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but Philotas only feared nothing, he beleued nothing. O how great a heart had this man, which having knowledge of the daunger of his king, did never chaunge countenaunce, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of the accuser: But in this silence and concealemēt there is treason hidden, and the gree die desire he had to reigne, did draine him headlong to attempt extreme mischiefe. His father is gouernour of Medea, and beareth such a stroke amongst the Capitaines and men of war through mine authoritie, that hee hopeth for a great deale more then he hath. And because I am without children he esteemeth me not. But Philotas is deceyued. I haue children, frendes, and kinsfolke amongst you. So long as you bee in safegarde, I shall not recken my selfe without heires.

Then did he recite a letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writte to his sonnes, Nicano, and Philotas, wherein there appereid no

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great proue of anye greater treason intended. The effecte was this: First take good heed to your selues, & then to those that belong to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Whiche letter the king enforced, saying: it was written after such a maner, that if it came to his sonnes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded he.

Now will Philotas perhaps say, that when Dimesius named all that were partakers of his conspiracy, he named not him. As to that it is no proue of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because he was spared of them that might best bewraye him, which confessing of themselves, durst not speake of him. But what maner man he hath bee ne his lyfe doth shew. He was fellowe and companion to Aminatas my kinsman, which conspired high treason against my person in Macedon. He gaue his sister in marriage to Attalus, then whome I had neuer greater enemy. When by reason of olde frendship and familiaritie I wrote to him of the title giuen to mee by the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, he did not sticke to aunswere: that he was very glad that I was admitted into the number of Goddes, howbeit very sorre for those that should lie vnder such a one as would excede the state of a man. These were plaine tokens that his hart was turned from me, & that he spited my glory. Which I kept close in my hart so long as I might. For I thought my bowels pulled from mee, if I should make a sytle stoe of them, for whom I had done so much. But now it is not their wordes that must bee punished: for the rathnes of their tongis is turned to swordes, which besonne me, Philotas hath whetted to my destruction. Whom if I should suffer to escape, alas my souldiers, whither shold I go: to whom shold I commit my person? He was the man that I made generall of my horsemen

horsemen, of the greatest part of mine army, & of al the noble young Gentlemen. To his truthe and fidelite haue I committed my saegard, my trust, and victory. His father did I preferre vnto the same estate wher unto you aduaunced mee, Medea, then whiche there is not a richer countrey, with many thousandes of your frends and felloves, I haue put vnder his gouernance and authoritie. Wher I trusted of most suretie, there found I most perill. Howe much more happy had I bee ne to haue dyed in battaille, and rather bee ne slayne of myne enemis, then thus betrayed of my subiectes: for nowe bee ing sauad from the dangers that I most feared, I haue fallen into those that I ought to haue doubted least. You haue bee ne woonde oftentimes to warne me that I shold regarde my suretie. It is not that may make mee sare of that whiche you counsel me. To your hands & to your succour I flie. I would not liue though I might agaynst your willes, and though you would, yet can I not, except I be deliuered from these my enemis.

Hereupon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, his hands bound behind his back. It wel appereed how much this miserable sight moued the whiche late before enuyed him. The day before they saue him generall of the horsemen, they knew that he was at supper with the king, and sodeinly they saue him both prisoner bound like a theefe, & also condemned to die. So it pitie their hartes to consider, how Parmenio so noble a man, so great a capitaine, whiche late hauing lost two of his sonnes, Hector & Picanor shold be put to answeare absent with the thirde son, whom euill fortune had left him. The multitude beeing thus enclined to pittie: Aminatas one of the kinges officers, with a cruell tale set them all against the prisoner.

We bee all (quoth he) betraied to the barbarous nations: none of vs shall returne home to his countrey, wife, nor frendes, but as a maymed body without a head, without honour, without fame, in a strange countrey, shall be a mocking stocke to our enemies.

His tale was nothing pleasant to the king, because he put the souldiers in remembrance of their wiues and countrey, whereby he thought they would be the lesse willing to go forwardes in his warres. There was one Cenus, which though he had marayd the syster of Philotas, yet did he more extremely enuye him then any other, calling him traytore against his king, to his countrey, and to the whole army. And therupon tooke vp a stonc that by chance lay at his feete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some thought) to the end he might rid him from racking. But the king kept backe his hand, and saide that the prisoner shoulde haue libertie to speake for himselfe, and would not suffer him to be condemned otherwise. Then Philotas being admitted to speake, were it through the conscience of his offence, or through the greatnes of his perill, as a man astouted, and besides himselfe durst neither loke vp nor speake, burst out into teares. Whereupon his heart fainted, and he swooned downe upon those that led him. But afterwardes when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and little recouered his hart and tongue, he made countenance to speake. Then the king behelde him in the face, and saide: The Macedons shall be thy Judges. I would know there-

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foxe whether thou wilt speake to them in thy countrey language, or not? To whome Philotas answered: Where bee diuers nations here besides the Macedons, which (as I trust) shall perceiue my wordes the better, if I vse y^e same language that you did, because the more might understand your tale. Then said the king, mark howe this man hath his owne countrey tongus in hatred. For there is none but he that wil dysdaine to speake it: but let him say what he wil, so long as you remember that he not onely dysdaineth our countrey customes; but also our lenguage, and with that word the king departed from the assembly. Then said Philotas.

It is easie for an innocent to finde wordes to speake: but it is hard for a manne in miserie to kepe a remeiance in his tale. Thus standing betwixt a cleare conscience, and moste vnhappy fortune, I knowe not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, and the time both together. For he that might best haue iudged my cause is gone: what the cause is that he will not haere mee, I cannot well imagine, sith vpon the matter heard, it lyeth only in his handes both to discharge and condemne me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite mee beeing absent, since hee condemned mee when hee was heere p^resent. But notwithstanding the defensce of a prisoner is not onely superfluous, but also hateful, which seemeth not to enforue, but to reproue the iudge: yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so doe, that I shall see me condemned by mine owne default. I see not of what treason I should be guilty. Among the conspirators no man named me. Nichomachus said nothing of mee. Ceballinus could not tell moze of mee then hee heard. And yet doth the king beleue that I should be head of this conspiracy. Was it possible that Dianthus should forȝet to name him that was chiefe: or is it like ly that he would haue overslipped me, when the names

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of the coaspiratorz were demanded of him : he would rather haue named mee falsly to allure the young man the sooner to his opinion : yet when hee tolde the master priuily to Nichonachus whom he belied verily would haue kept it secrete,naming himselfe and all the rest : of me onely he made no mention, wherein it can not be gathered that hee omitted mee , for because hee would haue spared me. I pray you my fellowes, if no manie had come to mee, or givien me knowledge of the matter, shold I this day haue beene put to aunswere, when no man would haue accused me : But be it that Dummis were aliue and would spare me, what think ye by the other : Would they confess of themselves, & forbear me: A duerstie is malitious and spitefull. An offender when hee is punished himselfe, vseth not to aby silence to spare an other man. Commonly he that goeth to death wil spare no man, nor no man wil spare him that is ready to die: and yet so many as be guiltie and put to tormentes, will there nere confess the erath: But nowe I must aunswere to the point that was offence, if there were any . Why did I conceale treason : why did I heare it with so small regard? This fault (if it were a fault) thou hast pardoned mee (O Alexander) wheresoeuer thou art, by giuing mee thy hande, & bidding mee to thy banquet in token of attonement. If you did beleue mee, I am cleare. If you forgaue mee, I am quite . Stande at the least to your owne iudgement. Alas what haue I done since thys last night I went from your bord: what newe report hath chaunged your mind: I rested in a sound sleepe, when mine enemies by their broiding waked mee, that was sleepynge in myne owne misfortune . Offendours when they cannot sleepe through their vnquiet conscience are wont to be vexed with cares, not onely when their mischiefe is intended, but also when it is ended. But this quietnes came unto mee first through myne owne innocencie, and then by the kings pardon. I feared not that others crueltie shold take more place then his mercy. But least hee shoulde forethynke, that belied me: yee shall understande that the matter was first shewed mee by a light fellow, who could not bring any witness or warrant of his tale: which if I had disclosed,

should haue put many menne to trouble . O vnhappy man, I thought mine eareg had bee ne seduced with the brabblementes of two buggerers, and I suspected the trouble of the partie , becauic he dyd not vitter the matter himselfe, but procured his brother to doo it . I was in feare that the one shold haue denied that euer hee shewed any such matter to the other, and then shold I haue faimed to procure much trouble to manye of the kinges frendes . So that where I offendred none , I haue founde some more deirous to procure my death, then to saue my life : What ha- trred suppose yee shoulde I haue gotten if I had accu- sed innocentes : But Dummis slewe hymselfe, could I therefore diuynre afor that hee woulde so doo : No surely. Thus hys death besyng the thyng that on- ly triyd the accusation to bee true, coulde not moone mee to vitter it , being preuented by an other . And if I had baene Consp[ir]atour wþth Dummis of so greate a Treason: is it lyke that I woulde haue dis- maled by the space of two dayes after it was discou- red : As for Ceballinus, it had bee ne small maistery to haue dispached hym out of the waye . After the thing disclosed wherfore shoulde I haue declared the matter : I entred into the kinges chamber alone, ha- ving weapons about me, why deferred I my purpose: Darst I not attempt it without Dummis: No, per- chance yee will say, because he was the chiefe consp[ir]atour . How then standeth it togither, that I shoulde bee his vnderling, whiche did couet to be king of Ma- cedon : Which of you all haue bee ne corrupte of mee with bribeg: What Capitaine, what Offycer haue I made of aboue other: It is laide to my charge that I abhorre the speaking of my countrey language, & that I disdayne the manners of the Macedons. What doo I despise the kyngdome that I couet: Ye knew well that our naturall tongue through the conuersation of strange nations is gone out of yre: as well we that bee victourers, as they that be subdued, must learne a newe language . But surely these thinges make us more against mee, then did the Treason that Rintag the Sonne of Perdiccas intended agaynst the kyng: With him I had frendship I will not denye: excepte yee

ye will make it a thing vnlawfull to lione the kinges
brother. But sithens it was our duetie to honour a man
called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you am I
guiltie because I could not gesse before that he would
offend? Is the lawe such, that the frends of offenders
must suffer beeing innocents? If that be reason, why
live I so long? If it be no reason, why am I condem-
ned to dye? But when I wrote I had pitie of them
that should liue vnder such a one as beleued himselfe
to be the sonne of Jupiter. O faithful frenfship & daun-
gerous libertie of true counsell, that deceived me, that
compelled me not to hide that I thought. I confesse
that I wrote so to the king, but not of the king. I did
it not for spise, but for my dueties sake. I thought it
more mete for Alexander to haue knowledged the kin-
dred of Jupiter with silence, then to haue made vaunt
therof with vaine boasting. But for because the truth
of Gods Oracle is certeine, let God be witnesse in my
cause. Retaine me in prison till ye may know Jupiters
answere concerning this conspiracie, and in the mean
season he that hath vouchsafed our king to be his son,
will suffer none of them that haue conspired against
his offspring to be unknown. If you suppose tormentes
to be more certain then Oracle, I will not desire to be
saued from them in trial of the truth. There is an olde
usage, that such as bee put to answare vppon life and
death, are wont to bring their parentes and kinsmen
before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my fa-
ther neither can I bring forth, nor dare cal for, because
he is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small
thing for him that was the father of manye children,
and hauing but one sonne left in whome to take plea-
sure, not onely to lose him, but also to lose his own life
with him? Therefore my most deare father shalt thou
die for mee, and with me: It is I that ende thinc olde
dates: Why diddest thou beget me vnhappy wretch in-
hatred of the Gods, to take such fruit by me, as is pre-
pared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth bee
more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the very flower of
my youth am weeded vp, and the executioner shall be-
reue the thy life, which if fortune would haue sus-
tained to continue, yet nature would haue asked it cre-
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had beeene long. The remembrance of my father doth
put me in mind how loth & timerous I ought to haue
been to credit the report of tales. For when my father
was informed that Philip the phisition had prepared
poyson for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warne the
king that he shold not receive the medicine which his
phisition had prepared. Was my father beleued? Was
his letter of any authurite? I my selfe when I haue
reported such things as I haue heard, how often haue
I bee ne shakien off with a checke for my light beleefe?
So that when we tell things we are hated, and when
we holde our peace we are suspected: what would you
haue vs do?

Then one of the company that stood by, cry-
ed out, that none ought to be traytors to them
that put them in trust.

Thou saiest well (quoth Philotas) whosoever thou
art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I require
no respite of my paine. And here will I make an end
of speaking, because my last wordes see me tedious vn-
to your eares.

As he was speaking these wordes, his keepers
led him awaie. There was amongst the Cap-
taines one Welon, a hardy man, but verye rude
of all honest maner and ciuitie, who being an
olde souldier, was promoted from lowe estate,
to the rounz of a Capitaine. This Welon pre-
suming vpon a foolish audacitie (when all other
had done) began to tell them, that when diuers
had taken vp their lodgings in the campe, howe
they were thrust out by the seruantes of Philo-
tas, which would lay their baggage wher other
men were placed before: and how al the streets
were full of his wagons, laden with golde and
silver. He added further that Philotas woulde
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suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwaies appoynted certeine to wait whilist he slept, which shold void al men aloose, to the intent he shold not bee disquieted with any noise: not so much for wakening of hym, as for his diseasing, & how he was so haughtie, þ he despised the plaine men of Phrygia & Paphlagonia, & hering a Macedon born, would not be ashamed to heare men of his own nation by an interp[re]t[or]: wheras Philotas had before moued to haue the oracle of Jupiter enquired of, he said it was meant therby to make God a lyer, for knowledging Alexander to be his sonne: as though any man shold envy þ king for þ title which the Gods had giuen hym. But why (quoth he) did he not aske counsell of Jupiter before he did offend? For now he would haue vs send for an Oracle, þ in the mean seaso[n] his father which ruleth in Macedonia, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custodie assemble desperate persons to þ fellowship of his mischief. Nevertheles we shal (quoth he) send to Jupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the matter, but to give hym thankes, and to do hym sacrifice, for the preseruation of so god a king. Then all the company was mooued, and amongst the kinges household there beganne a crie that the traytour should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas, (who feared more grieuous punishment) was contente to heare. The king returning into the prease deferred the counsell till the next day, for to commit

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Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the mean season to get further knowledge of thinges. And albeit it drew towardes night, yet commaunded he his counsell to be called together. Some of them thought it best that Philotas shold be stoned to death after the Macedons lawes. Ephestion, Craterus, & Cen^o, determined to haue the truth tried by tormentes, and then they which counseled the contrary, turned to their opinion. Therefore when the counsaile was broken vp: Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus, arose to take Philotas to the examination. The king called Craterus vnto him, and comanding the rest to anoid, had secret communicatiō w^t hlm in þ inner part of his ledging, the effect wherof came not to any mans knowledge: And there taryed till the night was far passed, to heare the end of the examination. The executioners set forth all sorts of cruel tormentes in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne mind said vnto them,

Why deserre you to kill such a one as hath confessed himselfe the kinges enemy and a traytour? What needeth more examination? It was myne intent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed before, shold bee confessed by Philotas againe vpon the racke. Whiche whilist hee was taken vp, his eyes bounden, & spoiled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the lawe of nature, and the Gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their dease cares. Finally as a condemned man

man, he was borne with most extreme tormentes by his enemies, that wrung him soze for y kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that, both fire & scourges were ministred unto him, more to pain him then for any examinations sake: yet he had power of himselfe both to refraine from speaking and groaning. But after that his bodie began to bolne with stripes, and that he could not abide the scourges which pearced unto the bare boncs: Then he promised if they would torment him no more, hee would confess whatsoeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the life of Alexander, that they should cease their tormentes, and sette the racke aside. The which thing obteined, he saide Craterus: Tell me what ye will haue mee to confess: Thereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those wordes that hee had mocked him, & caused his tormentes to be renewed. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whilist he might take his breath, and then he would utter all that euer he knewe. In the meane season, the chiese of the men at armes, and especially such as were neere to Parmenio, in any degree of kinred, after that the same had bruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons lawe (wherein it wasordeined that the knyssfolke of such as had done treason against the king, shoulde pe put to death with the traytors: some slew themselves, some fledde into wilde mountains, and walke wildernesses,

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and great dread and feare fell throughout al the hoste, until such time as the king hauing knowledge of the uppre, made proclamation that hee woulde pardon the rigour of the law to the knyssfolke of the traytors. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliver himselfe out of paine by accusing himselfe falsly or not, it is doubted: seeing it is commonly saene, that both such as truely confesse and falsly deny, come all to one ende.

You are not ignorant (quoth he) howe famyliar my father was with Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the field: he was the cause of al our mischiefe. For when the king tooke vpon him the tytle of Jupiters sonne, he disdained thereat. Shall we knowledge him (quoth he) to bæ our king, that taketh scorn that Philip was his father? Wee are all vndeone if wee can suffer this. He doth not onely despise men, but the Gods also, which wil bee reputed a God. We haue lost Alexander, wee haue loste our king: we are fallen to presumption, neither tollerable to the Goddess with whom hee compareth, neither to men whom hee despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despiseth vs? which disdaineth to be in the number of men? Trust me that we also if wee men shall be adopted like wise of the Gods: who hath revenged y death of Alexanders grandfather, or of Archilaus or Perdiccas? But this man (quoth hee) hath forgiuen them that slew his father.

These were the wordes that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morow early my father sent for me, who was heauy, and saw me sad, for we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therfore to proue whether he babled those words through excesse of wine, or of an

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advised purpose conceiued before , we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, he of his owne mind said further : that if we durst vndertake the aduenture he would not shynke frō vs, or if our harts serued not, he would keepe our counsaile . Yet so lōg as Darius was living, my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexander shoulde bee to the auiale of our enemis, and not of our selues . But Darius once rid out of the way , then he that could destroy the king, should obtain the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward : Which counsaile beeing approued, faith & truth was giuen therevpon : but concerning Dinnus I knowe nothing . When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quoth he) that it doth not auiale mee that I am utterly guiltles of this treason . Then they renued his tormentes againe , and so beate his face & his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, vntill they enforced him , not onely to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason prepensed.

Because (quoth he) it seemeth that the king would sojourne long among the Bactrians , I was afayde least my father that had so great a power in his hands, & the keeping of much treasure (being lxx. yeres of age) should happen to die in the meane season , & then being disarmed of so great a strength, should not gette oportunitie to slea the king . Wherefore I hastened the matter whilste the pray was in hand .

Thus discovered he the conspiracie, wherof if they beleued his father to be the authour (hee said)

said) for his triall he refused not to be tormented againe , though it were too greuous for hym to endure . The officers then whispering togither, thought the examination to be sufficient , and returned therewithall to the king, which on the morow caused all the confession there to bee openly recited before Philotas : whom he caused to be led into the place, because he was not able to goe , and there he confessed all the matter againe . Then Demetrius was brought forth, which was counted the greatest doer in this conspiracie next to Philotas . But hee with great protestation, & incredible stoutnes both of heart and countenance , denied that euer he intended any euill against the king, and for his triall desired to be tormented . Then Philotas casting his eyes about, spied one Calis standing by, & made a signe to him to draw neere . Who being abashed, & refusing to come forwards : Wilt thou (qd he) suffer Demetrius to lie, and me to be streined againe ? With those wordes Calis became speechlesse, & chaunged colour . Then the Macedons began to suspecte that he would accuse innocentes, because þ same Calis was neither named by Nichomachus, nor by Philotas himself in his tormentes . But finally Philotas before þ kinges officers standing thercabout, confessed þ treason was conspired by himself & Demetrius . Wherefore as many as were appreached by Nichomachus vpon a token giuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe .

L.y.

Thus

The sixt booke

Thus was Alexander deliuered from great perill, not onely of his life , but also of his suretie, For Parmenio and Philotas beeing of such power, if they had not openly beeene found culpable could not haue beeene condemned without the grudge of the army. So long therefore as Philotas denied the thing , the matter seemed doubtfull , and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after that he had confessed the circumstan- ces, no man, not so much as his neare frendes, tooke any pitie of him.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF QVIN-
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon .



Ike as the men of war thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memorie, euен so after he was gone, whō they before hated , their enuye was turned to pitie. The noblesse of the young man moued them much : so did the remembrance of the olde yeres, and desolatiō of his father. He was the first that made the way open for Alexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his perils, as he which in y warres was euer capitaine of y vanguarde, chiefe in couſaile with the king his father, and so trutchie to Alexander himselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus his enemy , he would vse none other mans seruice. The remembrance of these thinges was rise amongst all the souldiers, & seditious words came to the kinges eares, who beeing little moued therewith, did wisely wch traualle auoide the euill occasions comuning of idlenessse. Wherfore he made it to be proclaimed that all menne shoulde bee in readinesse before the Court gate, where they being once assembled, he came forth

to speake vnto them. And as was before deuised required the band of the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander Lyncestus , which long before Philotas had conspired the kinges death. This man beeing accused of two witnessesse (as before saide) had remained in prison threē yeeres togither. Against whom it was proued that he was of counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of king Philip. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of king , his punishment was deferred, rather then his offence forgiuen. For at the intercession of Antipater his Father in Lawe , the king had respyted his iust indigation for that time. But the olde festered sore brake out againe , and the consideration of hys perill presente, renned the remembrance of his daunger passed . Wherefore when hee was brought forth of prison , and commaunded to speake for himselfe , albeit hee had threē yeeres leasure to deuise his awnswere, yet stammering and trembling coulde bring forth but little of y which he purposed to say. And finally, both hys heart and his memory failed him . Wherefore there was none that doubted but that his fearefulness was a token of a guiltie conscience, & no default of memory : so that whilste he was stac- kering and hacking in his tale, they that stooode next thrust him through w their pikes : whose bodie conuiced out of the place , the king com- maunded Amitas & Simmianas to bee brought forth: for Palemon their youngest brother, after

after hee had knowledge of Philotas tormente fled away . Of all Philotas frenes, these two were mosse deare vnto him , and through hys commendation , aduaunced to high and honou- rable offices. The king remembryng with what earnestnes & labor Philotas had brought them into his fauour, doubted not but they were pri- uie to this last conspiracie. Whereupon he de- clared to the multitude that hee had occasion of suspition against those men long ago by his mo- thers letters , whereby he had warning to be- ware of them, and that they no[n]e fearing the sequele of woosier inconueniences had made them sure, enforced thereunto by apparant pre- sumptions. First he saide, the day before Philo- tas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in se- cret: & also their brother which fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe the cause of his fleeing . He shewed also that of late, contrary to their ac- customed maner of waiting, without any cause moving them thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence they pressed next about the king of all other : whereat marueiling that they would furnish a roome whereunto they were not ap- pointed , became so in doubt of their clustering togither, that he returned into the traine of the gentlemen y followed him. He declared besides, that when Antiphanes clarke of the stable, the daye before Philotas treason came to light, ac-

L viij. cording

The seuenth booke

ording to his accustomable maner, gaue know ledge to Amintas that he shoulde deliuer of hys horse to such as had lost their owne: he proudly aunswere againe, that except he would content himselfe, he shoulde know shortly what maner of man he was. Whiche violence of tongue and rashnes of wordes bulked out (quoth hee) was nothing els but a declaration and token of his trayterous hart. These thinges beeing true, (he saide) they had no lesse deserved then Philotas, and if they were otherwise, he desire y they might aunswere vnto the points. There-uppon Antiphanes was brought in to giue evidence of the horse not deliuered, and of his proud answer giuen with threatening. When Amintas had gotten libertie to speake, he desired of the king, that whilste they aunswere for theselues, their bands might be loosed: whiche thing obtained, he made suite to haue his garment cast vpon him. Whiche Alexander not onely graunted, but willed a weapon to be deliuered to his hands, as oþher esquires vsed. When he had received the same, he eschued a litle the place where y corpes of Lincestes lay, and said in this wise.

Whaþoever shall become of vs (sir king) we must thinke if our chaunce be good, the same to proceede of your fauour, and if it bee euill, we must iudge the fault to be in our fortune, seeing you suffer vs to pleade our cause without prejudice, setting our mindes free, and our bodies at large, with the same apparel restoring vs wherin we were wout to followe you. Our cause is such that we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the feare of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I wyll aun-

of Quintus Curtius.

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answere first to these points wherewith you charged vs last. We knowe most assuredly that we be inneſtent of any kinde or wordes spoken to the derogation of your Maiestie: And durst attirme that you had ouercome al envy of men, but that peraduenture you would that I went about with faire words to excuse things that haue bene maliciouly spoken. Though it were so that wordes sometime did ecape vs, either when we were aint, or wearied in marching, hazarding our selues in fighting, or els when we were sick or resting of our woundes: our honest deuings oþerwise do deserue, that ye should rather impute the same to the time then to any euill disposition in vs: For it is commonely seene wherre any thing chanceth amisse, all men in maner become guiltie of the fault. We do violence somtime to our owne bodies which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers vnto the children, sometime is both ungratefull, and also hatefull. But on the other side, when we receive rewardes or giftes, or when we come laden home with spoile, who can then stay vs? who can restraine our chearefullnes: or who can restraine our courage in fighting? The nature of man is neither to keþe measure in displeasure nor in gladnesse. Thus are we dynuen by the violence of affection, sometime with pitie, and sometime with fury, as our þresents desire doþ gouerne vs. One while we are in minde to passe through India as farre as the Ocean sea, and by and by the memory of our wiues, chyldren, and countrey call vs backe againe, and deth alter our purpose. But as the trumpet soundeth, streight all these imaginacions do passe away, and euery man then runneth into his aray, reuenging vpon their enemies the disp'eaſure they conceiued within their lodgings. I would Philotas had offended but onely in wordes: I wyll passe ouer that, and returne to the other point, wherof we be accused. The frenðship that was betwixt Philotas & vs I wiþ not only denie, but also confeſſe that we did couet the same, and received thereby great commodity. Do you marueile that we did honour & esteem the sonne of Parmenio, whom you did chuse to be next about your person, and did aduance aboue all other your frenðes? You your selfe (if it please you to heare the

The seventh booke

the truth) are the cause of this our perill. What other thing moued vs to craue Philotas freendship, the that we desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduaanced to the degree of your fauour. Hee stode in such case with you that it behoued vs as well to sue for his benevolence, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that we shoud repute your enemis our enemies, and honor your frends as our own? Should we haue bene found disobedient in this bond of duetie, and specially towardes him, whome ye did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue few innocentes, or surely none at all. All men desired to bee Philotas frendes: but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference betweene the partners of his treason, and such as were his frends: then so manye bee offenders that would haue been hys frendes. What presumption haue you nowe that we shold offend? I thynke because yesterday Phyletas talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof I can not excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chaunged anie thing of myne accustomed maner and living, but if so bee we vsed euerie day to do the like, then custome must needs make it to bee none offence. But it may be said the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the daye before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwene Antiphanes and me. If that be a iust cause of suspicion that I woulde not then deliuere my horses, there shall arise a doubtfull plea betwene the denier and the demaunder, sauing that his cause is better that keepeth styll his owne, then his that requireth an other mans. I had tenne horses, of the which Antiphanes had distributed eight, to suchc as had losse their owne: so there remayned onely twoo, which when hee woulde proudly and wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them still, i excepte I woulde haue scrued on scote. I cannot denie but this communication was had betwene a man of a fre stomachke, and a person of a byle nature, whiche could doo no maner of seruyce, but take away mens horses, and gue them to others. What mischiefe is this, that at one tyme I must purge my selfe both to the kyng and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynct that

your mother did write to you of vs, as of your enemis: I woulde God she had moze wisely bene carefull of her sonnes sauagarde, then dubitfully imagined such fyned figures. Why doth she not also expetie the cause of her feare? Besides shce sheweth not her au-thour, nor yet signifieth one wordre whereby shce was moued to write unto you such letters of fear. O wretched estate of myne, whiche standeth in leste hazard to holde my peace then to speake. Yet howsoever the matter shall passe: I had rather myne excuse shoulde displease you, then my cause. If you remember when you sent mee to fetch newe soldiers out of Macedon, even then yee shewed mee that in your Mothers house there lurked many lusty young Gentlemen: wherfore you commaunded mee that in executing your commis-sion, I shoulde spare none, but bring with mee perforce all such as refused the warres. Which thing I did, & fulfilled your will therein more largely then was ex-pedient for me. Se I brought unto you Gorgias, Hecateus, and Gorgata, whiche now minister vnto you right acceptable seruice. What creature therfore is more wretched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your will, shoulde rightfully haue suffered, and now perish because I obeyed you? For truely there was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtiltie before a womans fauour: I brought unto you of Macedon vi. thou-sand footmen, and viij. hundred horsemen, of the whiche the moze parte woulde not haue followed mee, if I had released such as woulde not haue come. It is reason therefore, that in as much as your mother is displeased with vs for your cause, that ye mitigate her, in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Whiles Amintas was thus pleading his cause they that had pursued his brother Palemon, (of whom we spake before) came leading him bound into the place. Then y^e rage of the people coulde scarcely bee pacified, but as the maner was in such easies, they woulde haue stoned Palemon to death. Yet hee boldly spake to them, and said.

I desire no fauour for my self, so that my flying
be not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren
whom if ye cannot thinke cleere, let the fault be
laid to me. For their matter appeared the better,
because I which fledde away am suspected. As
soone as he had spoken these wordes, the whole
assembly were enclined in his fauour, & resoluē
to teares, being so sodeinely contrary turned, þ
now they were all conuerted on his part, which
a little before were all against him. He was in
the prime & flower of his youth, and through o
ther mens feare fled away amongst those horse
men, which were amazed at Philotas torment.
His company had left him behinde, and whilst
he was in doubt whether he might turn againe
or flie further forwardes, was taken by them
which pursued after him. He then begā to weep
and beate himselfe about the face: not so much
lamenting his owne chaunce, as that case of
his brethren being in danger for his cause, with
which his behauour he moued the king, and al
the company there present. Onely his brother
Amintas could not be pacified, but behelde hym
with a fierce countenance, and saide.

O mad creature, then oughtest thou to haue wepte,
when thou diddest put thy spurrez to thy horse, as a
traptour to thy brethren, and a companion of traitours.
Thou wretched, whither and from whence diddest thou
then flie? Thou hast nowe brought to passe, that both
I am thought worthy of death, and also must become
an accuser of other.

Palemon there-upon confessed himselfe to
haue

haue offended in that point, but more greuous
lie against his brethren, then towards himselfe.
Then the multitude could not abstain frō weep
ing and shouting: being tokens whereby men
in an assembly are wont to declare their affec
tions: and with one consent they cried al to the
king with one voice, that hee shold spare inno
cents, and men of seruice: his frendes also vpon
that occasion did rise, and with weeping eies re
quired the king of mercie. Then he comaundered
silence, and saide.

By mine owne iudgement I doe pardon both you
Amintas and your brethren, desirous that you shold
be more mindfull of my benefite, then of your own ie
perdie. Come in fauour againe with mee with that fi
delitie I am reconciled vnto you. Except those things
which were brought in evidence had been debated and
tryed to the vttermost, my dissimulation might haue
bene suspected in this matter. Better it is therfore to
be cleared in ielouie, and thinke that no man can be ac
quited, except he be first detected. Thou Amintas par
don thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart re
conciled vnto mee.

This done, the king dismissed the assemblie,
and sent for Poledamas, whom of all men Par
menio loued best, accustomed alwaies to stande
next him in battaile. And though the clerenes
of his conscience did assure him to come boldlie:
yet after hee was commaundered to bring forth
his brethren being but young, and unknown to
the king, his confidence was turned into feare,
and began to doubt, imagining in his minde ra
ther such thinges as might hurte him, then by
what meanes he was thus circumuented. In

the meane season the garde which had commandement threunto , brought forth his brethren. When the king saw Polidamus pale for feare, he called him neere, and commaunding all men apart, said vnto him.

Through Parmenio his treason wee were all in daunger, but chieflly I and thou, whome vnder colour of frenndship hee deceiu'd moste : In the pursuing and punishing of whom, see howe much I trust thy fidelite : For I am determined to vse thee as a minister therin, and whilste thou goest about it, thy brethren shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt go into Medea, and beare my letters to my officers, writte with mine own hand. It is necessary haste bee made, that the swiftness of the same may be preuented. I will that yee come thither in the night, and that the tenour of my writing be executed the day after. Ye shal cary letters likewise to Parmenio, one from mee, and another written in the name of Philotas . I haue his signet in my custodie . So that when Parmenio shall see both you, and the letter sealed wyth his sonnes Ring, he wil be without suspition.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of feare, promised his diligence a great deale more earnestly then it was required. When Alexander sawe his promptnes in the matter, he boþ comended his god will , and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and tooke other after the Araby fashion , wyth two men of the same countrey to be his guides, for whose truthe their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Canelles thorough such places as were deserte for lacke of moysture , and within eleuen dayes came to their iourneys ende , before

any

any knewe of their comming. Polidamus then tooke again his Macedon apparell, & in the dead of y night came into Cleanders lodging, which had the chiefe authoritie there, nerte onto Parmenio. When Cleander by his letters vnderstoode the kinges pleasure , Polidamus hauing more letters to deliuere likewise to others, agreed by the spring of the daye to go al togither unto Parmenio. As they were going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamus arriuall , who reioicing both for the comming of his frennde, and for the desire hee had to knowe of the kinges estate (the rather because he had receiuied no letter from him of a long space) commaunded Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of that Countrey haue large backesides, and pleasant orchards full of trees, beeing the chiefe delight of Princes, and great Lordes there. The Capitaines which had received commandement by the kinges letters to kill him, came to Parmenio, walking vnder the shadowe of the trees, being agreed amongst themselues to execute the thing, when hee shoulde beginne to reade his letters . So soone as Parmenio had espyed Polidamus comming a farre off, with a semblaunt of ioy (as it appeared by his countenance) ranne to embrase him , and after salutation gaen eche to other, deliuered the kings letter. As he was unclosing it, he demandied of Polidamus what the king intended to do : you shall knowe y (quoth he) by y contents of your letters.

Whiche

Whiche when hee had read : I perceiue (quoth
Parmenio) that the king purposeth a voyage a-
gainst the Archesians : surely he is a painefull
prince, & never in rest. But neuer after so much
glorie wonne, it were time for him to take his
ease, and haue consideration of his health & sau-
garde. And then he reade the other letter writ-
ten in the name of Philotas, wherat hee was
joyfull as appered by his countenaunce. Wh-
that Cleander stabbed him with his sword into
the side, and after striking him ouer the throte,
the residue thrust him in as he laye dying. But
Parmenios men which stood neere at hand, and
saw the murder , whereof they knewe not the
cause, ran into the campe , and with their trou-
blous tidinges, set all the souldiers in an vprore.
They ran streight to harnesse, and clussing to-
gither about the place where the murder was
done, made an exclamation, that except Polida-
mas and the other doers of that deede were de-
livered to their handes, they would ouerthrowe
the wall, and make sacrifice to their dead Capi-
taine with the bloud of the offenders. Cleander
willed the chiese of them to be let in, and recited
the kinges letters , wherein was conteined the
treason of Parmenio intended against him , w
a request to them to see him reuenged. Then
immediately upon the kinges pleasure knowne,
the sedition was appeased, but the grudge was
not ridde out of their harts. The most parte de-
parted, sauing a fewe, which required instantly
that

that at the least they might be suffered to burie
the bodie . It was denied them long by reason
of Cleander , who dreaded the kinges displea-
sure : but because they beganne to ware more
earnest, intending to auoide matter of sedition,
he cut of the head , which he sent the king, and
left them the body to burie. This was the end of
Parmenio, a noble man both in warre & peace :
many thinges had he done valiauntly without
the king, but the king without him never did a
ny thing worthy of praise. He serued and satisfi-
ed in all affaires a king moste happy and fortu-
nate, and beeing lxx.yeres of age, executed the
office of a Capitaine as lively as if he had bee-
young in yeres, & pretermittid not often times
the partes of a common souldier. He was quick
in counsaile, doughty of deede; welbeloued of all
princes, but moste deere to the common sorte of
souldiers. Yet whether those thinges did mooue
him to couet to be king, or els caused him to bee
suspected thereof, it is yet doubted. For whether
the wordes that Philotas spake, when he was
ouercome with the paines in his last torment
were true or false, or els that he sought an ende
of his paine by accusing himselfe falsly , it was
much doubtfull, seeing there was nothing proo-
ued at such time as the matter was most fresh
in memorie . Such as Alexander perceived to
grudge at the death of Philotas , were separa-
ted from the reste of the army, and put into one
Cohort vnder Leonidas their Capitaine, which

In times past was of nære familiaritie wyth Parmenio: The king bare priuy displeasure agaist hem, and therefore willing to prooue the disposition of every man, gaue warning through out the army, that all such as would write into Macedonia, and haue their letters surely conueyed, shold bring them to be carried with such as he wold send. Whereupon every man did write frankly to their frendes such thinges as were in their harts. Some shewed themselues to be offendid with the long warres: and some seemed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted, as wel of such as commended the king, as of those that grudged at his doings. Wherefore hee willed such as by their letters disclosed themselues to be weary of the trauaille of the warres, for their reproch to be put in bad aparte from the reste. Wherby hee both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardinesse, and besides remoued the libertie of their tonges from the credulous eares of the reste. Which rash deuyse, as all other thinges, turned to the setting forth of the kinges felicitie. For in all extremes they shewed them selues the readiest, and the most forward: and whylest they coueted to redeeme their reproch, their valiaunt doings could not bee hidde in so small a number separated by themselues. These things being ordred after this maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaimed his iourney against the Araspians; which, by chaunging of their name,

were

were called Euergitas, since the time that they relieved Cirus army with lodging and victuals being afflicted with colde and perury. It was the fifth day before he entered into their countrey, wheres he vnderstood that Satribarzanes which tooke Bessus parte was with a power of horsemen entered againe amongst the Arians. Hee sent against him Caranus and Eriqius, and in their ayde Artabazus and Andromachus, wyth six thousand Greke footemen, and six hundred horsemen. Alexander continued threescore dayes in setting order amongst the Euergitans: vpon whom he bestowed a great summe of mony, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towardes Cirus: and leauing Amenides to bee their gouernour (who was Darius secretarie) he wente to subdue the Arachosians, which border upon the Sea of Ponte. The men of war that were vnder Parmenios rule, came then to Alexander, being six thousand Macedons, wyth two hundred of the Nobilitie, five thousand Greke footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefe force of his powre. To these Arachosians, Memnon was appointed lieutenant with iiii thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen. Alexander from thence entered with his armye into a country not knowne to such as haue bordered vpon it: for the inhabitantes would not haue conuersation with any other people. They were called Paransadans, beeing a rusticall kind of men, & most rude amongst all the barba-

G.Y.

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gous nations : the hardnes of the countrey had so indurated their dispositions. They lye mosse towards the colde North pole, joining with the Bacrians vpon the west, and bending towards the Indian Sea vpon the south . They use to build their houses of brick, and because the land is full of barreine mountaines, and void of timber they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broad beneath, growing euer more narrowe towardes the toppe, and like the keeles of a shipp, whereas the holes be made aboue to receive light . Such of their bynes and trees that bring forth fruit, as they wil preserue from the violence of the colde , they couer them with earth during the winter season, and when the snowe is vanished away , they restore them againe to the aire and to the sunne . The earth was there couered with snowe frozen so harde, that there remained no signe of any birde or beast within the cuntrey. The aire besides was so darke, that little light appéred : but the earth couered as it were with a dyng shadowe , men could scarsly discerne things very neare at hand. The army brought into this countrey desolate of all cultuation of man, suffered all the discommodities and miseries that might bee endured, both of hunger , colde , wearines , and despaire. There were many of them that dyed for colde : and the snow destroied their fete : but specially it perished many mens sight. When they were wearped, and not able to traualle any further, they

they laid themselves down vpon y frozen snow, and having once left the mouing of their bodies which stirred in them their naturall heate, they were streightwaies so nummied for colde , that they could not rise againe , till that they were lift vp by their companions . And remedy was there none in this matter, but to compell them to go forwards : for then by stirring of theselues their natural heate was reviued, and they recovered againe some strength. Such as recovered the cottages wherein the countrey men dwelled, were verie well refreshed. But the darknes was so great, that the houses could not be other wise discerned then by the smoke . The inhabi-
ters that had never seene straungers before amongst them, when they beheld the armed men comming sodeinly vpon them , were amazed for feare , and brought forth whatsoeuer they had, to saue their bodies from violence. Alexan-
der went on his fete amongst his men, raising such as were lying, & relieving such as he sawe afflicted with the colde , with his owne clothes. He was seene one while in the forward, another while in the middest, and sometime in the rere-
warde to the great trauale of his bodie . At length he came to places better manured, wher he refresched his army with plenty of victualles, and there remayned in campe till such tyme as all that were lefte behinde came unto their fel-
lowes. Then he went forwards with his army to the mount Caucasus, which deuideth al Asia

U. iij. into

into two parts, For on the one side it stretcheth towards the sea of Cilicia, and on the other side to the Caspian sea, to the River of Arares, and the desernes of Scithia. To this mount Caucasus, ther ioineth another mountain called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, which riseth frō Capadocia, and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the mountaines of Armenia. Out of these mountaines ioyning thus togither as it were in one continuall rydge, all the Riuers of Asia do descend. Some of them running into the Red sea, some into the Caspian and Hircanian sea, and other into the sea of Ponte. In xvij. dayes Alexander with his army passed the mount Caucasus, where in a Rocke that is ten furlonges in compasse, and fourre in height, the antiquitie fained that Prometheus lay bound. At the fete of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a Citie, wherein he placed viij. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and such other besides, whose seruice he would not vse any more in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celerite, made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of his countrey, and according to the custome of those Nations, consulted with hys frendes, and his Capitaines, for the maintenance of the warres being at meate. And when they were well charged with wine, they extolled greatlie their owne power, despising the rashnes of their ghemtes, and their small number. But chiefly

Bessus

Bessus was most arrogant in his wordes, who puffed vp with pryde by reason of the kingdome he had newly gotten by treason, and not master of his wittes, began to declare, howe that Darius by his follye had increased hys enemyes fame, who would needes fight with them in the streightes of Cilicia, when by retyng backe hee might haue drawne them (before they had vaine ware) into deserte places, and there haue put Riuers and mountaines betweene his enemies and him, and amongst the same so inclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse any resistance. Wherefore (he saide) hee was become of opinyon to retyre backe amongst the Hogdians, whereas the Kyuer of Drus shoulde bee as a wall betwixt him and his enemies, till such time as he might assemble a strong power of the Nations thereabout: knowing very well that the Chozasimions, the Dahans, and Sacads, the Indians and Scithians, inhabiting beyond the River of Tanais, would come to his assurance: of whiche there was none so lytle, that any Macedon with toppe of his heade could reach to hys shoulders. They are all in their dronkennesse assentid to hym, assyyming that to bee the wisest waye. Whereupon Bessus caused the Wlyne to bee carped about plentifully to conquerre Alexander vpon drinke. There was at that feast one Cobares a Medean, whiche in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a deceite of Wlty,

some

The seuenth booke

some vaine man) was more notable by his profession then by his knowledge, but otherwise a moderate and an honest man. Hee making a preamble before his tale, saide: He was not ignorant howe much better and more profitable it were to be obedient to others counsell, then to be a counsaile givere. For such as be folowers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the reste: but such as be authours and perswaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the cuppe he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this respecte maye bee called perverse and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters, then in their owne. Their counsailes must needes bee alwaies full of perturbations, which take their owne advise. For feare is impediment to some, desire unto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing they haue deuised. I wil not speake of pride nor impute it unto any man. Yee haue seene experience how euery one doth esteeme that thing onely to be best, which he himself hath iudged. The diademe of a king that you weare vpon your head is a great burde, which if it be borne moderately, the weight thereof wyl oppresse the bearer. It is not fury can auayle in this case, but wise and prudent counsaile.

When he had spoken those wordes, he rehearsed a Proverbe commonly vsed amongst the Bactrians, which is, that a feresfull Dogge doth bark more then bite, and that the deepest riuers doth run with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such prudence may appere as reigned amongst the barbarous.

As

of Quintus Curtius.

I 44

As hee talked after this manner, such as heard hym wondered to what ende this tale woulde come. Then he beganne to shewe his auyse, which was more profitable to Bessus the grate full.

Alexanders cleritie (quoth hee) that hee is come in maner to the entery of your court. He can remoue his army before you can remoue this table. You say soat you will drawe your assistance from the Riuers of Ganais, and that you will put riuers betweixt you & your enemies. I would knowe if he be not able to followe, wheresoeuer you shall flie. If the way be indifferent, it must needes bee most easie and assured to the victour. And though you think feare wil make much speed, yet hope is more swifte. It were therefore me thynke expedict to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yeilde your selfe vnto the stronger. Hawe soever he shall accept it, your fortune is more like to bee better that way, then to remaine still an enemy. Consider that you possele an other mans kingdome, and therefore yee may the better departe therewithall. For yee cannot bee a iust king, til you receiue the kingdome of him that is able to gue it, and take it away. This is a faithiull counsaile, wherfoze it is not necessary to delay the executiō therof. The horse that is of noble courage will bee governed with the shaddowe of a rodde. But the dull beast is not prickid forwardes with the spurre.

Bessus that was fierce of nature, and well set forwardes with drinking, became in such a surye with his wordes, that he could scarcely be holden by his frends from the sleaing of Cobares, for he pulled out his sworde to haue done the deed, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this sturre escaped away and canic vnto Alexander. Bessus had eight M.

Bactris

Bactrians attending upon him: Which so long as they iudged that by intemperatenes of the ayre in those partes, the Macedons would rather haue gone into India, then into Bactria, were very obedient at commaundement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was comming towardes them, every one shunke away and forsooke Bessus. Then he with a bande of his familie which were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the Drus, burning such boates as carued him ouer, because that y same should not serue his enemy in following him, and assembled a new power amongst the Hoggdians. Alexander as it hath bene saide before, passed the Mount Caucasus: but for lacke of corne his army was brought in manner to the extremitie of hunger. In stead of oyle they were faine to annoynt them selues with a iuice which they wryng out of Sesma: but every measure thereof called Amphora, was sold for xxl. deniers: euery like measure of henye for ccxc. and of wine for ccc. & yet of the same was very little to bee gotten. They haue in that countrey certeine vessels called Sisrye, whiche the inhabitantes vse to hyde so priuily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The countreymen burie their corne after that maner, for want wherof the souldiers were faine to liue with herbes, and such fysh as they caught in the Riuers. But that kynde of foode wanting also, they were enforced to flea their carriage beastes, and

lived

lived with the flesh of them till they came into Bactria, the nature of the soyle of which countrey is diuers and of sundry kindes. Some place is plentifull of wood and bynes, and aboundant of pleasaunt fruyte, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of springes. Those partes which be mosse temperate are sowen with corne, and the rest be reserued for feeding of beastes. But the greatest parte of that countrey is couered euer with barreine sandes, and wythered vp for want of moysture, nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth fruite: But with certaine winds that come from the Sea of Ponte, the sande in the plaines is blowen togither in heapes, which seeme a farre off like great hylles, whereby the accustomed wayes be so dammed, that no signe of them can appeere. Therefore such as do passe those playnes, vse to obserue the starres in the night, as they doe which sayle the Seas, by the course of them directing their tourney. The nightes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes: wherefore in the day time the countrey is wylde and unpassable, when they can finde neyther any trace nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe whereby to passe, the starres beeing hidden by the mist. If the same wynde chaunce to come duryng the time that men be passing, it overwhelmeth them with sande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plenty both of men and horse: So that the Bactrians may make twenty thousand horsemen.

Bactria

The seuenth booke

Bactria which is the head Cittie of that region standeth vnder a mountaine called Parapanis : the ryuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, whereof bothe the Cittie and the Countrie take their names. Alexander lying there in campe, received aduertisement out of Greece, howe the Lacedemonians, and the whole countrie of Peloponese had rebelled against him.

For they had not lost the battail at such time as the messengers were dispatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the necke of this euill tidings there came another present terror, which was that the Scithians inhabiting beyonde the riuier of Tanais, were comming to ayde Darius. And at the same time tydinges came to him of the battaile that Caranus and Erigius had fought with the Arians, where Satibarzanes that was newelie reuolted being chiefe of the countrey, seeing the battaile to remaine equall on bothe sides, ridde into the fore front, and plucked of his helmet, forbidding any of his side eyther to cast Dart, or strike stroke, and there made a challenge to fight hande to hande, if anie man durst come forth and proue his strenght. Erigius Captaine to the Macedons was a man striken in yeres, but yet not inferior to anie young man, either in stoutnes of stomacke, or strenght of bodie, who coulde not beare the proude arrogancie of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwarves, and plucking of hys helmet likewise shewed his hoare heare. The day

day is come (quoth he) that I will shew either by the victorie, or by my honest death, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his frends and his souldiers : and without more wordes made towardes his enemie. It coulde not be iudged but that bothe Armies had stayed their handes by appointment. For they gaue backe immediatlie on bothe sides, to let them haue free scope, eche partie standing in expectation what should become of the challengers, for they coulde not but thinke themselves partakers of their aduenture. Satibarzanes first charged his stiffe, whiche Erigius auoyding by bending his heade aside, but he in the middes of his race, strake the other with his speare through the throte, so that it came forth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes upon that stroke fell from his horse, but yet made resistance till such time as Erigius plucked the speare out of the wounde, and thrust it againe into his mouth: who to rid himselfe out of the paine, furthered his enemies stroke. The Arians seeing their Captaine slayne, whome they had followed rather of necessitie then of their owne free willes, called to remembrance Alexanders benefites, and yeelded themselues to Erigius. Alexander rejoysed much of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatlie the Lacedemonians: but hee bare out their rebellion stoutlie, saying that they durst never disclose their meaning, till they knewe he was come to the confines of India. Alexander ha-

ving remoued hys campe, and going forwardes in the pursuyte of Bessus, Eurigius met hym, presenting the spoile of his enemy, as a memo-
rie of his victorie. Thereupon he committed the rule of Bactria to Artabazus, where with a ga-
rison he left his cariage, and wyth a power that
was light to iourney, entered into the desertes
of the Sositanes, conueyghing his Arme by
nyght. In the want of water (that hath beene
declared before) desperation mooued them to
thirst before they had desyre to dynke. For by
the space of foure hundred furlonges, they found
no water at all. The vapour of the Sunne bee-
ing in the sommier season, did so burne the sand,
that when it began to ware hote, it starcheth
all things as it had beeene with a continuall fire.
And then the light somewhat obscured by a
myste that rose out of the earth by the immode-
rate heate, caused the playnes to haue appे-
raunce of a mayne Sea. Their iourney in the
night seemed tollerable, because their bodyes
were some-what refreshed with the dewe and
the colde of the morning. But when the daye
came, and the heate rose, then the drought dry-
ing vp all the natural humors: both their mou-
thes and their bowels were enflamed for heate.
Then their hartes fayled, and their bodies sain-
ted, being in case that they could neither stande
stil, nor passe forwardes. A fewe y were taught
by such as knewe the countrey, had gotten wa-
ter, which refreshed them some-what: but as

the

she heate increased, so their desyre greswe again
to drinke. Then there was no remedy but to
give among the souldiers all the wine and oyle
that remained in store. For drinke was so sweet
vnto them, that it tooke away the feare of anye
thyrt to come. But such as had gullen in gree-
dily the water that they get, became so heauie,
that they were neyther able to beare theyr Ar-
mour, nor goe forwardes: so that they seemed
then moste happy that had gotten no water at
all: for such as had taken of it inordinatly, were
enforced by vomit to put vp the same again. As
Alexander carefull in this calamitic stode with
his frends that were persuading of him to haue
respect to himselfe, for that he onely, and the
greatnes of his heart should be relife unto this
aduersitie: There came two souldiers, which
going before wyth such as had taken vp the
campe, had founde water, and were carrying of
it in bottels vnto their sonnes, which were sore
afflicted for wante of dynke behinde in the Ar-
mye. When they sawe the king, one of them
opened his bottell, and filling a cuppe that hee
had, presented water to the kyng: who recey-
ving it at hys hande, demanded to whom they
caryed that water: they sayde to their sonnes.
Then hee restored to him the cuppe againe full
as it was giuen him, and said: I wil not drinke
alone: for so little cannot bee deuided amongst
vs all. Make you haste therefore to carry to your
sonnes that you haue gotten with your traualle.

But

But he trauniled so long, that before night hee
came to the ryuer Drus: The more part of the
Armie, not able to follow for feblenes, were
left farre behinde: to the intent therefore that
such as followed after, might knowe where the
campe was become, he caused a fyre to be made
in the top of an hill, and gaue order that when
the valward had refreshed themselves with meate
and drinke, they shoulde fill their bottels with
water, and goe backe with the same to releue
their fellowes. The breath of such as druncke
intemperately closed vp, and they dyed imme-
diatlie: the number of whiche was greater
then euer Alexander lost in any battaile. But
he would neither put of harnies, refresh himself
with meate and drinke, nor ease his bodie: but
steode in the way where his armie passed, not
departing till the last man was come into the
campe. He watched all that night, and passed it
ouer in great trouble of minde. And the day that
ensued brought no release of his care. For there
were neither boates to passe the ryuer withall,
nor he could make anie bridge, seeing there was
no wood growing neare at hande. But at length
he found out a devise, wherunto onelie necessi-
tie did drive him. They tooke beastes skinnes
and stufed them full of strawe, wherevpon
they layde themselves, and so swome ouer the
water. Such as first recovered the further side,
steode in order of battaile till the rest were pas-
sed, by which meanes in syre dayes he conueyed

ques-

ouer his whole army. Hauing thus passed ouer
the ryuer of Drus, his purpose was to passe for-
wards in the pursuite of Bessus, till he under-
stoode such things as had chaunced amongst the
Suskians. There was one Spitanenes, whom
Bessus chiefly honored of all his frendes. But
there be no benefites that can stay a man given
to periurie and falshooде: which in him was the
more tollerable, because he iudged no mischiefe
too great for him that hath slaine his prince. For
the reuenge of Marius was a faire colour to his
offence: but it is to be thought, that his present
fortune was more enuyed, then his doinges in
time past hated. When it was knowne that Ale-
xander had passed the Riuier of Drus, Spita-
nenes did associate with him in his enterprise,
Dataphernes, and Catenes, whom Bessus spe-
cially trusted. They agreed to the matter more
readily then he would desire them, and taking
to them eight young men that were strong of
personage, used this kinde of pollicie. Spitane-
nes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone,
enformed him that he had founde out how Da-
taphernes and Catenes had conspyred to dely-
uer him aliue into Alexanders handes, whereas
(he saide) hee had prevented them whilst they
were about their purpose, hauing taken them
both, and put them faste in prison. Bessus then
thinking himselfe much bounden to him for so
great a god turne gaue him many thanks. And
so the desire hee had to bee revenged of his ene-
mies,

E.J.

mies, willed Spitanenes to bring them to his presence. He caused their handes to bee bounde behynde their backes, and to be brought by such as were priuy to their confederacie. When they came in Bessus presence, he behelde them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue striken at them. But they lefte their counterfeiting, and streight wayes enclosing Bessus about, bounde him strugling inayne, and pulled the Diadem from his head, tearing his garment from hys backe, which sometime belonged to his Pynce whom he had slayne. When he saw hymselfe in this case, he confessed that the Gods had rightfully revenged his treason, and per-
cuted plainly by the plague that they sent him, that both they favoured Darius, & were frends to Alexander, whose enemyes evermore pre-
ferred his victorie. It is vncertaine whether the multitude would haue assisted Bessus, or no: but that Spitanenes had devised the thing to be done by Alexanders appointment, whereby he put them in feare, beeing yet doubtfull of minde, and set Bessus upon an horse, wherupon he brought him unto Alexander. He in y meane season had chosen out nine hundred, such as by reason of their age were not meete for the warres, and gaue to every horseman twoo talentes, and to every footeman thre thousande denyers. That done he dispatched them home, and gave thankes vnto the resle, because they promyzed to continue with hym till hee had brought hys
warres

warres to an ende. Bessus was presented vnto him at a lyttle Towne, whereof the inhabytors bee called Branchidans: whiche in tymes past by the commaundement of Xerxes, whan hee came out of Greece, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they had violated a Temple calld Dydymia. They had not al togither forgotten their countrey customes, but had mixt their tongue, which by little and little were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attayned the countrey speach. They receyued the king with great ioye, yeelding themselves and their Cittie vnto his will. Thereupon he called vnto him the Milesians, that serued him in his warres (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the Branchidans) and put in their hands to determine whether they would sauе them for y country sake, or els destroy them for the iniury they had done in times past. But when the Milesians coulde not agree in opinion, he said he would oder the master himselfe. The nexte daye when the Branchidans came to moete him, he returned them all againe into the Cittie, and commaundered hys footemen to enclose the Cittie about, and entered with such as he appointed for the purpose, and by a token giuen put all to the sword, and spoiled the Cittie as a receptacle of traytors. They beeing wythout Armiour, and unprovided, were slayne in euery place. For neyther the

affinitie of their tongue, nor any prater or intercession coulde mittigate their enemies crueltie, which after the destruction of the Towne did cast downe the walles to the ground, so that no memorie therof should remaine. That done, they did not onely cutte downe the woodes wherein they vseth their sacrifice: but also plucked vp the trees by the rootes, that the ground might be left barreine as a deserthe. If the same thinges had beeene done against the very offenders, the revenge might haue beeene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessors vpon the posteritie, it might bee thought a cruell acte, seeing there was not anye of them that had euer seene Miletum, or done to Xerxes any kinde of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towardes the Riuier of Tanais, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoiled of his garments: whome Spitanenes led in a cheine put about his neck: a pleasant sight to beholde, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitanenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he said.

I haue brought heere vnto you the killer of his own maister, after the same maner that he himselfe gaue the example: wherein I haue both revenged Darius that was my king, and you also that nowe haue got the souvereigntie. Let Darius open his eyes, & rise frō death to behold this sight, that was vnworthy of such an end and worthy to receive such a comfort as this is.

After that Alexander had giuen Spitanenes thanks, he turned himselfe vnto Bessus, & said:

what beastly woodnes moued thee to take thine own Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kill him, hauing so well deserued of thee: of which thy doinges thou hast received sufficient rewarde by usurping the counterfeit name of a king.

He had no hart to make aunswere, nor excuse his offence, sauing that he saide: he tooke vpon him to bee king, because he might deliuer him possession of the countrey, which thing if he had omitted, some other he said had tooke it in hand. Then Alexander called for Dratres Dari⁹ brother, whom he had placed about his person, and committed Bessus to his keeping, to the intent he should cut off his eares and his nose, & hange him vpon a crosse, causing his owne menne to shooe him through with arrowes, & so preserue his bodie that byrdes should not touch him. Dratres promised to performe all the reste, sauing the keeping away of the byrdes, which for y desyre he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well keepe them awaie as he, who did shooe so assuredly, that he coulde stryke the byrdes flying in the ayre. And though it was a cunning not so much to bee marueiled at in a nation so expert in shooting: yet was it greatly wondered at of such as did beholde him, and was great honour vnto the doer. He gaue rewards to al such as were the bringers of Bessus, but he deferred his punishment, because he minded to put him to death in the same place where he slewe Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a foraging without order,

Were overthowone by the enemies y came running downe from the next mountaines. They tooke more then they did kill , and driving their prisoners before them, retired againe to y mountaines . There were of them to the number of xx.thousand which accustomed to liue by theft, vsing slynges and bowes in their fight, whome Whiles Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was striken with an arrow in the midst of his leg, where y head sticke still. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their kings hurt, caried him into his campe, of whose departure out of y fieldis his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors unto Alexander, whome he admitted to his presence, and unsoulding his wound, whereby he might dissimule the greatness thereof, shewed his leg unto them. When they were commanded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorrowfull for it as his owne subiectes, which shoulde well be known: for if they could find out the person that did the deede, he shoulde be delivred unto his handes : they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, y would fight with Gods, of whose vertue they supposed him to be, and therefore were determined to yelde themselves. Therupon he gaue unto them assurance, and receiving againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subiectes.

That

That done he remoued his campe, and was carried in a fote litter : for the bearing wherof the horsemen and footemen contended togither. The horsemen alledged it to be their office , because the king accustomed to fighte amongst them. And the footemen argued for their parte , that in so much as they vised to carie the hurt soldiers, they thought no reason their office shoulde be taken from them, chiesly when y king shoulde be caryed. Alexander therefore in so great a contention of both parts, thought it a difficult matter to gine sentence , because the iudgement shoulde bee greuous to them that shoulde bee put from the office , and therefore ordred that they shoulde carie him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a citie called Maracanda, the walles whereof were lxx furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall : he set a guarrison in the Citie, and then burned and desstroied the countrey thereabouts. Embassadors came unto him thyther from the Scythes called Aquians , which had beeene free since the tyme that Cyrus was amongst them: but yet they shewed themselves then readie to be at his commaundement. They were knowne to be moste righteous people of all the barbarous nations, as men that never vised to make war but whe they were prouoked, whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie,made the inferiors equall vnto the superiors . Alexander received them gently , and sent Venidas a frende

XIij.

of

The seventh booke

of his to those Scithes that inhabited within Europe, to forbid them to passe the riuere of Tanais without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the situation of the countrey, and to visite those Scithians that inhabited about Bosphorus. He willed him besids to choose out a place vpon the brinke of Tanais, whereas he might build a citie, to remaine as a fortresse for the subduing of those people that he intended to visite. But this devise was delayed by the rebellion of the Hoggdians, who had also drawne the Bactrians to their parte. There were of them seuen thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the reste followed: for the aduaantage of whome Alexander caused Spitamenes and Catenes (the betrayers of Bessus) to be sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the countrey againe to his obedience, and to subdue such as had made this stirre. But they which were iudged meete to staye the rebellion, and were sente for that intent, were the chiefe authours of all the revolt. For they caused it to be noysed abroad that Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kill them all: Which commission (they saide) beeing appointed to them, they would not execute, because they dyd thinke it ouer foyle an acte to commit against their countrey men. And for that cause could as ill beare then Alexanders crueltie, as in times past Bessus Reason. By this meanes when feare of death was put into their heades, they

were

were easily stirred to armes, which before were sufficiently enclined of their owne minds. Whē Alexander was aduertised of their doyngs, hee willeo Craterus to besiege Ciropolis. And hee himselfe wannte another city of that countrey by an assault that he gaue to it on all partes at once, and by a signe giuen, caused all the children to be put to death, making the rest a praye for the souldiers. This done, the citie was razed to the ground, to the intent that others by their example might be kept in obedience. There was a valiant people called Memacenas, who were determined to abide the siege, not onely for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it most meete for their suretie. For the mitigating of whose wilfulness, the king sent to them fistie horsemen to declare his clemencie towards such as submitted themselves, and how inexorable he was to such as he wannte by force. Their answer was, that they neither doubted of the kings promise, nor of his power: but after their answe were giuen, they lodged them without their walles, where as entertaining them with great cheare till it was the deepe of the night, they set vpon them, and slew them all. Alexander was no lesse moued with this matter, then the case required, but made an assault vnto þ citie on all partes at once, which he foud furnished in such wise, that he could not take it at þ first attempt. Wherefore he appointed Meleager and Perdiccas to the siege thereof, which

then

Then were besieging of Cirropolis, mindyng to spare the same, because it was bulded by Cyrus. For he had not so great admiration of any king that had reigned in those partes, as of him, & Semiramis: whose magnanimitie of minde, and fame of her actes, seemed to him to exceede all the rest: But the obstinate wilfulness of the inhabitants, stirred by his wrath. For when he had taken the citie, he willed the Macedons to spoile it, which had great cause to be moued againt them, and so returned againe to Meleager and Perdiccas. There was not one city that did more valiantly abide the siege, then the same did: for both the hardiest of the souldiers were slaine, and the king was brought in great daunger, being striken in the necke with a stome, so that his sight failed him, and was felled to the earth, so that he lost his sense. The army lamented, thinking he had bene dead, but he was invincible against those things, which put other men most in feare. For without taryng, he dressed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had stirred by the egernes he had of nature, he renewed the assault againe more fiercely then before. At length, a great piece of the wall was ouerthrown by a mine, at the which he brake in, and put the whole city to sacke and to ruine. He sent from thence Benedemus w^e, M. sweteinen, and viij. hundred horsemen, to the city of Maracanda, which Spitamenes had newly taken, and put from thence the garrison

of the Macedons: Yet the citizens were not of this opinion, but when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessarie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the riuere of Tanais, where he enclosed about with a wall so much ground as his camp did conteine, extending in compasse ix. farlonges, and named the same citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that with in seuentene dayes after the walles were vp, the houses also were builded. And the whole was persourned in a very smal season, through the contention amongst y souldiers, who shold performe his worke first, when the same was deuided into portions amongst them. Their prisoners (whose ransomis Alexander paid to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The discent of whom, after so long tyme, are not yet worne out, such fauor hath bene shewed to them, in the memory of Alexander. The king of Scithia, whose Empire was then beyond the riuere of Tanais, iudging that the fortifying upon the rivers side, shold be as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carassis with a great power of horsemen to defeate the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons from the waters side. That Riuier deuideth the Bacrians from the Scithians of Europe, and is the limite which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the countries that the Scithes inhabite, stretch as farre as Thracia, and lie betwixt

befoucene the North and the East: joining with
Sarmatia, and possessing part of it. The coun-
try also that lieth beyond the riuver of Ister is
inhabited by the, their uttermost bounds stret-
ching to Bactria, and to the further boundes of
Asia northwards, where as be wonderful great
woods and wilde deserts. But such of them as
bounded neare unto Tanais and Bactria, lacked
not much the ciuitie of other nations. This
being the first time that Alexander had to doe
with these people, when he sawe that then he
had to enter into a warre, for the which he was
not prouided, his enemies riding vp and downe
in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, speci-
ally not hauing the use of his speach, which fail-
led much by reason of his long abstinence, and
the paine in his necke: called his friends to cou-
cell, and declared vnto them that he was not
troubled with any feare of his enemies, but
with the iniquitie of the tyme, the Bactrians
rebelling, and the Scithians prouoking him,
when neither he was able to stand vpon the
ground, strong enough to ride on horsebacke, or
in case to giue aduise or exhortation to his men.
In consideration therefore of the doubtfull dan-
ger he saw himselfe wrapt in, he accused y gods,
complaining y he was the inforced to lie still as
a stocke, whose swiftnes before time none was
able to escape. The matters grew so great, that
his owne men beleued haue had counterfeited
his sickenesse for feare. And therefore he which
since

since the ouerthow of Darius had left consul-
tation with the deuiners and prophets, turned
himselfe againe to the vanitie and superstition
of man, willing Aristander (to whome he was
addiced in beliefe) that he shold try out by sa-
crifice what his successe shold be. The custome
of them which were called Aruspices, was to
consider the intrailes of the beastes without the
king, and to make report to him of their signifi-
cation. In the meane season whiles they were
searching secrets that way, he willed Ephesti-
on, Craterus, Eriogus and other his friends to
draw neare about him, least by straining of his
oyce, he might breake out his wound agayne,
and said thus vnto them:

The danger I am in, hath caused the tyme to serue
better for mine enemis, then for me: necessarie I see
chiefly in the warres to goe before reason. For it is
seldome giuen to men to chuse their owne tyme. The
Bactrians be revolted, vpon whose shoulders yet wee
stand, purposing to try what courage we be of, by our
behaviour towardes the Scithians. If we leaue of
with doubtful fortune, and meddle not with them,
which of their owne mindes haue prouoked vs: wee
shall at our returne be had in contempt of them whom
we intend to visite. But if we shall passe the riuver of
Tanais, and by the destruction of the Scithians, and
shedding of their bloud, shew our selues invincible e-
very where, who wil then doubt but that Europe wil
lie open, and give obedience to vs being victors? haue
is deceiued that doeth measure by any distaunce the
boundes of the glory we intend to passe. There is but
one riuver that leitteth vs now for bringynge of our
power ouer into Europe, which if we shall bryng to
passe what an estimation shall it be for vs whiles wee
be subduing of Asia, to set vp the monumentes of our
victories as it were in a new world, ioyning so soone
together

together with one victory the thing that nature saith to haue deuided with so great distance: but if we shall stay never so litle and gaine ground, the Scithians will then come after vs, and pursue vs in the taile. Be there no moxe but we that haue paised riuers: there be many inuentions yet remaining amongst our selues, whereby we haue gotten victories. But fortune of the warre doth teach pollicie to such as be ouercome: we haue shewed a president of late how to swiame ouer bottles: which thing if the Scithians cannot doe, the Bactrians shal teach them. It is but the power of one nation that now commeth against you, all the other yet stand in a stay to understand of our doyngs. So that by eschewing battell, we shal nourish warre, & be compelld to receiue thos blowes which lie in vs to giue to other. The reason of my aduise is manifest. But whether the Macedones will suffer me to use myne owne disposition I doubt, because that since I received this wound, I haue not ridden on horsbacke, nor gone on foote. If you wil folow me my frieds, I am whole: I gaue them strength enough to endure these things. And if the ende of my life be at hand, wherein can I spend it better?

These wordes that he spake, were uttered with a broken and weake voyce, so that they could scarcely be heard of such as were nerf him. But when his meaning was perceiued, all that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterprise. But Erigius wrought chiefly in the matter, which perceiuing that his authortie could not prouayle agaist the kings obstatute minde, attempted to worke him by religio, which he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the gods were agaist his determination, which had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the River. He

said he had vnderstood that thing by Aristander, who told him at his comming into the pavilion what he had perceiued in the beastes intrailes. Alexander upon his wordes was wonderfully troubled both with anger and shame, when he saw the secrets of the religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to himselfe, and therefore caused Erigius to goe aside, and Aristander to be called in vnto him, whome he beheld in the face, and said,

I see me to thee rather a priuate man then a king: I commanded thee to make sacrifice, and thou hast declared the signification thereof to other, and not to me. For Erigius by the report knoweth thy priuacies pertaining to me: But sure I judge, that through his owne feare, he devised an interpretation of himselfe. Therefore let me heare of thine owne mouth, whas thou haue found in the intrails, to the intent thou shalt not deny that thou hast spoken.

Aristander therupon was amazed and looked pale, not able to answer one word for feare. But at length the same feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forward to speake, least the prolonging of the kinges expectation myghte prouoke him to further wrath, answered:

I sayd (quoth he) there was in the enterprise great daunger and difficultie: but yet that your attempt should not be in vaine. There is nothing that I haue perceiued by my science troubleth me so much, as the loue I bare to you wardenes: for I both consider your infirmite, and what a moment consisteth in your owne person, fearing you shold not bee able to endure the thinges that fortune is disposed to giue unto you.

When Alexander heard him speake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whom fortune had granted glory in greater thinges, and thereupon dismissed him: Afterwardes as the king was debating with such as he cōsulted with before, by what means he shold passe the riuier: Aristander came amongst them, affirming that he had found the intiales contrary to that he did before, with as likely signes of good successe, as any that euer he sawe, shewing them as great causes to reioyce, as he d̄d before to feare. But immediatly hereupon, Alexander received newes that much appaired the continuall felicitie he was wont to haue in all his proceedings. Menedemus beyng sent (as it hath bene said before) to besiege Spitamenes, the autho: of the Bactrians rebellion: When he vnderstood of his enemies commyng, both in auoing to be enclosed within walles, and trusing besides to take some aduantage of the Macedons, laid an embushment to entrappe them. There was a wood through the which they shold passe very apt for y purpose, where he laid the Dahans, whose custome was to carry two armed men vpon one horse, from whence they used to leape downe by course. And by reason the swiftnesse of the footemen was little inferiour to the horsemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horsemens fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that when their enemies shold enter into the wood, they shold enuiron them

them on all sides, which when they performed according to their appointment: Menedemus seeing himselfe enclosed on all partes, and not equal in number vnto his enemies, resisted a great while, crying out to the souldours, that there remained no hope to them being infrapt after that maner, but by making slaughter vpon their enemies to receiue the comfort of an honest death. Menedemus rode vpon a strong horse, charging oft tymes vpon his enemies, whereby he brake their order, and made great slaughter, till such tyme that he being laied at on all partes, received many wounds, and fainted for want of bloud. Then he exhorted Hispides that was one of his friendes, to leape vpon his horse and escape away, and with that word he swounded and fell to the ground from his horse. Hispides might haue got away, but after he had lost his friend, determined there to dye, taking no other care but how to spend his lyfe without losse of his enimies. Wherefore he put his spurres to his horse, and ran in amongst them, where he fought notably, and at length was slaine. When the rest saw this ouerthow, and losse of their captaine, they recovered an hill where Spitamenes bid besiege them, thinking to subdue them for want of vitaile. There were slaine in the battell 2000. footemen, & 300. horsemen, Which misaduenture Alexander w̄ great pollicy kept secret, commanding them that departed from the field, vnder paine of death not

to publish this matter abroad. But when hee could not beare it out any longer, to shew a countenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his pavilion which he had set of purpose upon the rivers side. There he waked all the night, devising with himselfe what he was best to do. And divers tyme he listed vp his tent to behold the fires in his enemies campe, thereby to conjecture their number. When the day appeared, he put on a corselet, and came forth amongst the souldiers, beyng the first tyme they had seene him since he received his hurt. They bare such a veneration unto their king, that with his presence onely, they put away the remembrance of the feare which caused them before to shrinke, and rejoiced so hartily, that when they saluted him, the teares distilled from their eyes, & earnestly required the fight, which before they had refused. He tooke order there amongst the that the horsemen, and such as were of the square battell of footemen, should bee caried ouer in boates, and that the light armed should swim upon bottles. Neither the matter required any more to be spoken, nor the king coulde not say much more by reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiers went about the matter with such good will and cheeresfulnes of mind, that within thre dayes they had finished ry. boates. When all things were prepared in readines for their passage, there came xx. embassadours of the Scithians, riding by the campe, which required that

it might be declared unto þ king that they had matter in commissio to declare unto him. Whē they were receiued into his pavilion, and com-manded to sit downes, they fixed their looke continually upon the kings countenance, whereby it was thought, that wayng the greatnesse of his courage by his personage that they saw pre-sent, it appeared to them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wits of þ Scis-thians be not rude and without knowledge, as other barbarous people be. For it is sayde that many of them attaine to such learning as is pos-sible for a nation being alwayes in exercise of þ warres. Whose wordes spoken unto Alexander be left in memory: which though they differ frō the maner of vs that happened in more ciuell tyme, and framed our selues to a more huma-nitie: yet the fidelite of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speach be not allowed. And therfore I shal declare uncorrupt-ly the sayings which the eldest of those embas-sadours did speake after this maner.

If the gods had giue thee a body according to the un-satiable desire of thy mind, the world should not be able to receive thee, but shouldest touch the Orient with one hand, & the Occidēt with the other: whiche thing once obtained, thy care should be to become equal to þ gods. Thus thou doest couet the thing thou art not able to compasse. Frō Europe thou goest into Asia, & frō Asia passest into Europe. It must come to passe that if thou overcome al mankind, thou must kepe war with woods & snowes, with riuers & wild beastes. What: art thou ignorant that trees doe grove till they be great, and then be plucked vp from the roote in a moment? He is

A sole that doth couet the fruit, and considereth not the heigh of the tree whereon it groweth. Take heed lest whiles thou doest labour to attaine to the toppe, thou fallest with the boughes which thou doest imbrace. The Lion hath bene sometime the foode of smal birds, and the rust doth consume the iron. There is nothyng so sure, that is not in dager of his inferior. What haue we to doe with thee? We never touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waste woodes to be ignorant what thou art, and from whence thou commest: we can neither be subiect to any man, nor desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shall not be ignorant of the state of our nation, we haue certaine gifts in proper vnto vs, the yoke of Oxen, the plough, the speare, the bowe, and the bolle, which bee the things that we vse both with our friends, and against our enemies. We doe giue vnto friends of the fruits gotten with our labour. With the bolle we sacrifice wine vnto the gods. With the bowe wee strike our enemies a farre off, and with the speare neare at hand. After that soyt we in tymes past ouercame the king of Scithia, and afterwards the king of Persia & Media, making the way open to vs into Egypt. But thou which doest glory, that art come to be a persecuter of theues, art a robber of all nations that thou commest amangst. Thou hast taken Lidia, possessed Syria enioped Persia, & hast the Bactrians vnder thy power. Thou doest visite the Indians, and now stretchest sooth thy rauenous handes vnto our cattell. Why doest thou couet that riches that causeth thee to be worse? Thou art the first of all men which with abundance hast prepared thy selfe hunger, and that with the more thou hast, the more grady thou doest couet the things thou hast not. Doest thou not remember how long thou hast sticked about Bactria. And whiles thou goest about to subdue them, how the Sogdians begin to rebell? Thus warre doth growe vnts thee of thy victory. For be thou never so great and puissant aboue any other, yet there be none that can endure to bee governed by Strangers. Passe now Canais, thou shalt perceiue what breadth it beareth, and yet thou shalt never overtake the Scithians, whose pouerty is swif-

ter

ter then thy army, carrying the spoile of so many nations. For when thou shalt thinke vs to be far of, thou shalt see vs within thy campe: With like swifteasle we follow and flie away. I heare that our deserte be storned by the Greeke prouerbs, we couet rather those deserte & places vnhabited, then Cities & plentiful countries. Therfore hold thou thy fortune fast: for she is fliper and cannot be kept against her will. Follow thou the counsel that is god, specially whiles the time doeth serue. Put a bridle to thy felicitie, and thou shalt gouerne it the better. We say that fortune is without fate, and that she hath onely handes and winges: but when she putteth forth her hand, she will not suffer her winges to be touched. If thou be a god, then giue benefites vnto mortall men, and take not away the commodities they haue already. If thou be a man, consider alway thine owne estate. It is foolish to remembere those thinges, which cause thee to forget thy selfe. Such as by warre thou makest thy enemies, by peace thou mayest make them thy very friendes. The most firme friendship is amongst them that be equall, and they seeme equall, which haue not yet made any triall of their force. Take heede thou take them not for thy friends, whom thou widdest subdue and bring to subjection. There is no friendship betwene the Lord and the slau: and in peace the lawe of armes is obserued. Thinke not that the Scithians do confirm their frēdship with any othe. For they thinke they sweare in keeping of their fayth. The custome of the Greeks is to iustifie their doings by calyng their gods to witnes: But we acknowledge religion to consist in the fayth it selfe. They which do not their due reverence to men, deceiue the gods. Thinke not those friendes to be necessary vnto thee, of whose good will thou shalt neede to doubt. Thou mayest vse vs as keepers both of Europe and Asia, for we shold ioyne with Bactria, but that Canais doth deuide vs, and beyond Canais our dominion stretcheth as farre as Thracia, and the same is that Thracia conserueth with Macedone. Consider therfore, whether it be necessary for thee or no, to haue vs as friends or foes to both thine Empires.

These were the Scithians wordes, to whom the king made answer:

That he would both vse his owne fortune, & their counsell which aduised him well. He would folow his fortune (he said) because he had great confidence in it, and other mens counsell, because he would do nothing rashly, nor vpon a sodaine.

Thereupon he dimissted the Embassadours, and embarked his army in the boates he had prepared. In the forepartes of the boates he set such as had targets, willing them to kneele vpon their knees for their more sauergard agaynst the shotte of arrowes. And they were placed behinde them that had the charge of the Engines, who before and on both sides were enclosed with armed men. The rest that stode beyond the Engines beyng armed themselues, defended with targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boates that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drewe their horses after them by the reines, swimmung at the boates tayle, and such as were carried vpon trusses filled with strawe, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to bee about his person, first launched from the land, and directed his course towardes the further side. The Scithians came agaynst them with their horsemen in order of battaille, standyng vpon the brinke of the further shoare to let their landyng: whose shew beyng a terrorre to the Macedones, they had

had also another cause of feare in their passing ouer, for the boate-masters were not able to keepe their course agaynst the force of the streame. And the souldiours swaying to and fro, for the doubte that they had to fall into the water, troubled the Mariners in doing of their office.

By reason whereof, the Macedones could not haue scape to cast their Darteres with any force, takynge more care how to place themselues out of perill, then for to annoy their enemies. Their Engines stode them in great steade, which seldom did shote in hayne againt their enemies that stode thicke before them, profering to resist their landyng. When the Scithians sawe them neere the shoare, they did shote an infinite number of arrowes into the boates, so that there was not in maner any target that had not many heads stickynge in it. At length the boates arrived at the land, then the target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauyng more scope and sure fortynge, threw their darteres more certainly, and with greater force, whereby perceiuyng their enemies to shrinke, and reyne backe their horses, they then leaped chairefully vnto the lande, one exhortyng and encouraging an other, and frely pursued them, whome they sawe fall out of araye. By that tymе Alexanders horsemen which had assembled themselves in troupes, brake vpon their enemies, and put them to great disorder

In the meane season the rest beyng defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselves to the battell. For Alexander letted not with stoutnesse of courage to supply the impotencie of his body. His voyce could not bee heard, when he spake and exhorted his men (the scarre of his wound not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting. Wherefore euery one vsed the office of a capitaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellowes, and ranne vpon their enemies without respect of their owne lyues. Then the Scithians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crie of their enemies, but beyng all on horsebacke, fled away vpon the spurres: Whome the king pursued 80. furlonges, notwithstanding that with great paine he endured his infirmitie. When his heart fainted, he commaunded his men that they shold follow still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauyng strength to sustaine any further traualle, returned into his campe to rest hymselfe. The Macedones in their pursuit passed the boundes of Bacchus. In monument of whome, there were great stones set vp by equall distaunce, and high trees whose stockes were couered ouer with Iuy. But no boundes coulde bee a staye to the Macedones beyng caried forwardes in their fury: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their campe, who hauyng killed many, and take a great number of prisoners, did drue before

before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slain of the Macedons ix. horsmen: of the footmen to the point of one hundred, and a thousand of them were hurte. This enterprise with the fame of the victorie falling in so good a season, kept the moare part of Asia in obediēce, which was at the point to haue rebelled. For they belæued that the Scithians were invincible: Who beeing vanquished, they iudged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therfore after this victorie sent their Embassadours vnto Alexander, offering themselves to come vnder his obedience. To the doeing whereof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were w^t reporte of the clemencie hee vsed towardes the Scithians after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home all their prisoners without raunsome, to witnes to the world that he made warre with those fierce nations to shew his power and his vertue, and not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vpon them. That was the cause that he so gently receiued the Embassadors of the Sacans: causing Ercipimus to accompany them: who beeing a beautifull young man in the first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great fauour and familiaritie with Alexander. In personage he was like Ephestion: but inferiour to him in pleasauntnes of speech. After this, Alexander giuing order to Craterus to followe him by smal iourneys with the greater

The seuenth booke

fer part of his army, he himselfe came to the
Citic of Maracanda, from whence Spitamines
that heard of his comming, was fled into Bac-
tria. The king therefore making great iourneis
fourre daies continually, came into the place,
whereas vnder the conduct of Menedemus hee
had lost ij. M. footmen, & ij. C. horsemen. Whose
bones he caused to be gathered togither, celebra-
ting their funeralles after his countrey maner.
By that time Craterus with the Phalanx was
come vnto the king: and to the intent he might
punish with the sword all such as had rebelled:
hee deuided his power into diuers partes, com-
maunding them to burne in euery place where
they went, and to kil all the children. The coun-
try of the Sogdians for the more part is wast,
by reason of the great desertes that stretch ouer
thwart the countrey. The Riuier called Polite-
metum passed in manner through the length of
it, which runneth a space violently in a narrow
chaneil, and then is receiued into a hole of the
earth, from whence it goeth vnderneath the
ground: whose course is manifest by the noyse
of water that may be heard. And yet on all the
ground vnder the which so great a Riuier dooth
run, there doth not appere any moysture put
forth. Of the captiues that were taken amongst
the Sogdians, there were 30. of the most noble
brought vnto Alexander: whiche understanding
by an interpretor, that by the kinges coman-
dement they shoulde bee put to execution, be-

gan

gan as men in myrth to sing and daunce, and
by a certeine lasciuious motion of their bodies,
expressed a great ioyfulnesse of the minde. Alex-
ander marueilng that they tooke their death
with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart,
called them vnto him, enquiring why thei shew-
ed so great a gladnes, when they had death be-
fore their face. They answered that if they had
beene put to death by any, sauing by such a one
as he was, they shoulde haue taken their death
sorrowfully. But nowe seeing they shoulde be re-
stored to their predecessors by a king that was
a conqueror of all nations, they rejoiced in their
honest death, as the thing that all men shoulde
wyl and desyre. The king then marueilng at
their magnanimitie: I enquire of you (qđ hee)
if you can be content to live, and become frēnds
to him, by whose benefice you shall receive life:
they said, that as they were never his enemies
but as they were prouoked by occasiō of þ wars
even so, if he would make an experiment of thē,
rather by a benefit, then an iniurie, they wold
labour not to bee overcome in god will, nor in
doing the thing that pertained to their duetie.
They were asked what pledge they wold laye
of their promise. They said, their lives they had
receiued shoulde be their pledge ready to be yel-
ded againe, when it were required. Therin they
brake no promise: for such of them as were re-
turned home into their countrey, kept the peo-
ple in god obedience: and fourre of them that
were

The seuenth booke

were appointed to be of the kinges garde, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towardes their Prince. When he had ordred all thinges amongst the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus there with thre thousand men of warre, and remoued into Bactria: from whence hee commaunded Bessus to be carryed to Echatan, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptholomeus and Menidas brought thre thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen of mercenary souldiers: and one Aleander came to him out of Licia with thre thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen, Asclepeodorus had leuyed the like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Greeks amongst whome there were five hundred horsemen. When hee had thus increased his army w^t the supply of his newe power, he went about in euery place to quiet those stirres that had beeне raised vp by the rebellion. And having slaine them that were the authours & beginners therof, the fourth day came to the Riuier of Drus, which being a water vnwholesome to be drunk (because it is euer troubled and full of mud) the Macedons fell to digging of welles: And when by digging deepe they could finde no water, a spring sodeinly appeared in þ kinges tent, which because it was not found at the first, they fained it to come by some miracle. Therwith the king was pleased, and contented men shoulde belieue that the same was sent by the gift of God.

when

When he passed the Riuers of Ochus and Drus, they came unto a citie called Marginia, neare vnto the which hee chose out places for the building of sixe Townes: whereof he planted two towardes the South, and foure towardes the East: euerie one distant a small space from another, to the intent that their mutual assistance in time of neede should not be far to seeke. They were all situate vpon high hilles, as bridelles to keepe vnder those wilde nations. But now they haue forgotten their originall, and bee subiect to those they were woon to rule. The king having subdued all the rest, one rocke onely remayned, whiche Al imazes a Sogdian had taken with xxx thousand armed men, and furnished the same of victuals for two yeres. The same Rocke was thirtie furlonges in height, and a hundred fiftie about, being in all partes steepe and broken, ha^ting one streight path onely to passe vnto it. In the middle way to the top it hath a caue, which was narrow and darke in the entry: but by lytle and litle it wared wider, and had moze large lodgings within for a great multitude, and was besides so ful of springs, that when they met together, they ranne down the Rocke lyke a great Riuier. Alexander beholding the strength of thys place, and the difficultie to winne it, determined to depart from thence. But there entred sodeinly into his hart a desire to wearie nature, and worke against her power. Yet before he would attempt the fortune of any siege, he sent Cophes

the

the son of Artabazus, to perswade them to gine it ouer. Arimazes vpon an assured trust of the strength of the place, aunswered in al things arrogantly, but specially in that he asked if Alexander could flie: Whiche words reported to the king, did put him in such a fury, y streightways he called for such as he vsed to consulte withall, declaring the pride & presumption of Arimazes, and after what maner he had scorned him. But shortly (he saide) he would devise such a pollicie, that he would make him thinke the Macedons had wings. He reuyzed theri therefore y out of the whole armye they wold chose out and bring to him thre C. of the mosste light young men which had been accustomed to drue beasts amongst the rockes and streight pathes of the mountaines: whereupon they brought such to the king, as both for lightnes of bodie, and hardines of hart were most meet for such a purpose: unto whom he said.

My fellowes that bee of mine owne age, with you haue I woonne Cities that were inexpugnable, and haue passed the topes of mountaines couered continually with snowe. With you I haue gone throught the streights of Cilicia, and haue without wearinesse susteined the violence of the colde: wherby I haue experiance of you, & you of me. The rocke whiche you see hath but one entrie, whiche our enemies do obserue, the rest they neglect. They kepe no watch but towardes our campe. If you diligently search, you shall finde some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may bee attained vnto by the industrie of manne. In putting things in prooffe, whereof other haue dispeired, we haue gotten Asia into our possession. Denise you the meane to gette vp

into the top, whiche when you haue taken, you shal giue a token to me by setting vp of some white cloth. You shall see mee then come forw ards with my power, and turne the enemies from you towards me. He shal haue ten talents for a reward that doth recouer the top first, and he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shall be obserued with ten of the first. I am assured that you regarde not so much my liberalite, as my fauour.

Whan they had heare the king speake after that maner, they imaginid the thing woon, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes and yron hookes whiche they might fasten to the Rockes, and so clymbe vp. The king brought them about the Rocke, where as it seemed least steepe and mosste plaine to mount vpon, and in the seconde watch wylled them to passe forwardes wyth good spedde. They beeing furnyshed wyth twoo dayes victualles, and armed onely with swordes and speares, at y first wente forwardes without anye great diffiultie. But when they came to the steepenesse of the Rocke, some tooke holde of the broken cragges to lyft vp themselves, and some fasseing their hookes on the Rockes, did clymbe vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest, and stay divers times, and so consumed the day in trauaile and in feare. Whan they had passed manye diffycult places, surther difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rocke seeming to growe more and more. Whan they sayled eyther of their holde, or of their fooing, it was a miserable thing to see howe they fell

fell downe headlong , shewing to the other by their misfortune an example what was likelye to come of them . Notwithstanding at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto þ top , where they all wearied with the trauaile of their cōtinuall labour , & some with the hurts and maymes they had receiued , slept there all that night amongst the wilde and rough rocks , vnmindfull of the perill they were in . When it was day they wakened out of their dead sleepe , and beholding the valleyes vnderneath them , were ignorant in what parte of the Rocke so great a multitude of their enemies shoulde lye . But at length when they perceiued by þ smoke in what place they were , they vpon the poynts of 2. spears set p the signe þ was appointed the , & found then in their coming vp they had lost of their nūber xxxv . The king being careful , not so much for the desire he had to win the Rocke , as for to saue those whome he had sent to so manifest a daunger , stood all day beholding the top of the mountaine . And when darknes of the night tooke away the prospect of the eyes , he departed to refresh his bodie . The next day before it was full light , he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the top of the rocke : but the varietie of the aire , and the sunne beginning to appere , and yet bid caused him to doubt a while whether his sight had fayled him or not . But when it was ful and open day , it apperead manifestly , and all doubt was remoued . Then he called Cophes , by whō

he had attempted their minds before , willing him once againe to exhort them to be better aduised . And if so be that in trust of their strength they would not submit themselves , that then he would shew to them the men that had taken þ Rocke ouer their heades . When Cophes came thither , he began to perswade Arimazes to giue vp his strength , thereby to winne the kings fauour , and not enforce Alexander to stay in the siege of a Rocke , having so manye weighty assayres in hande : But he found him more obstinate and proud then he did before , and wylled Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter . Then he tooke Arimazes by the hande , and requyred him to go with him out of þ caue . When they were come whereas they might looke about , he shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the cragge , and scorning then his pryde , asked of him whether Alexanders souldiers had gotten wings or no . By that time the Trumpets were blowne in the Macedonis campe , and they might heare the alarme that was made in the army : which matter as manye vaine and trifling thinges are wont in the warres to grow to great effect : so that was the cause that they yeelded themselves . For feare so troubled them that they could not consider the small number that were ouer their heades , but called Cophes againe in great haste , who was departed away , and sent with him vnto Alexan der 30 of þ chiese men authorized to yeld vp the

The seuenth booke

Kocke, with composition for to departe in faue-
garde. But Alexander notwithstanding that he
doubted least his enemies discouering the few-
nes of his men, might put them to distresse: yet
trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and
offended with the pryde of Arimazes, would a-
gree to no condition, but that they should yaelde
simply. Arimazes thereupon dispayring more of
his estate, then he had cause, descended down to
the campe, with the chiefeſt of the nation that
were of kinne to him. All the whiche Alexander
caused to be scourged with roddes, and be cruci-
fied at the foot of the Kocke. The multitude that
yaelded, with the money that there was taken,
were given in gift to the inhabitors of the
new Cities. And the rule of the saide
Kocke was committed to Ar-
imazes, with the charge
of the countrey
therabout.

THE E Y G H T B O O K E O F Q V I N-
tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Alexander having woonne shys
Kocke with greater fame then
glorie, because his enemies re-
mained in no place certeine, it
was necessary for him to sepe-
rate his power, and so deuyded
his army in to 3. partes. He gaue the charge of
the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other,
and tooke the thirde parte unto himselfe. His e-
nemis were not all of one opinion: for some of
them seeing their defence could not auaille, yael-
ded themselves before the fight, to whome hee
gauē the Cities, and the landes of those that
continued still his enemies. But the oulawes
of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wa-
sted the villages of the Massagets. For the re-
dresse whereof Attinas gouernour of that coun-
try, wente against them with three hundred
horsemen, not knowing that his enemies laye
in wayte for him: whiche laying their embushe-
ment in a wood adioyning to a great plaine, had
appointed a certeine to diue cattell, thereby to
drawe their enimies with greedines of the pray
within daunger of the embushment.

The eight booke

When Atticas men saw the dryuers of the cat-
tell, they pursued them without order: so that
when they were passed the wood where the em-
bushment lay, their enemies brake out vpon
them (casting no such perilles) and slewe them
every one. The fame of this ouerthrowe came
immediatly vnto Craterus, which drew thither
with the horsemen. But the Massagetes beeing
fled before his comming, he slewe a thousand of
the Dahans that tooke their part: whereby the
rebellion of the whole countrey ceased. Thus
Alexander having subdued the Sogdians, retur-
ned to Maracanda, whither Berdes (whom he
had sent to the Scithias inhabiting about Bos-
phorus) came to him with Embassadors of that
countrey. Phrataphernes also that had y chiefe
rule of the Massagetes and Dahans (which na-
tions were ioined by affinitie togither) sent cer-
teine messengers to Alexander, offering to be at
his commaundement. The Scithian Embassa-
dores made request that Alexander would marie
their kinges daughter: and if the affinitie plea-
sed him, that he would suffer the Princes of the
Macedons to enter in mariage likewise with y
noble mens daughters of their countrey: pro-
mising that the king shoulde come in person to
site him. He heard gently both the Embassages,
and stll continued in that place, till Ephestion
and Artabazus came vnto him: and then ioy-
ning his power againe togither, came into the
countrey that is called Bazarria.

There

There is nothing more esteemed in that nation
then to haue great heardes of wylde beastes en-
closed in Parkes, which be verie pleasaunt and
full of springs. Those Parkes be enclosed wyth
walles, and towers bulded within them, to bee
lodges for the hunters. There was one Parke
in that countrey that had remained vn hunted
during the time of four mens ages: Wherin-
Alexander entered with his whole army, cha-
sing the wilde beastes in every quarter. Amon-
gest the rest there was a Lyon of rare bignesse
that came running towards Alexander. Which
thing when Lissimachus (that afterwards was
king, standing by chaunce then next to Alexan-
der) perceiued, he stepped before him, to receiue
the Lyon with his hunting speare. But Alexan-
der plucked him, and willed him to auoide, say-
ing, that hee was able to kill a Lyon as well as
Lissimachus. This Lissimachus on a time hun-
ting in Siria, killed by himselfe alone a huge Li-
on. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder
his left shoulder, and put in great daunger of
his life. Which bearing the matter that Alexan-
der meant, he performed with that woyde no
lesse then he promised: for hee did not onely re-
ceiue the Lyon, but kylled him with one stroke.
There-upon the fable did rise, howe Alexander
should cast Lissimachus to a Lyon. But though
Alexanders chaunce was god herein: yet the
Macedons knewe that by the custome of his
countrey hee shoulde not haue hunted on foote,

Z.zy. with-

Without the chiefeſt of his nobilitie and frendes about him. He killed in that Parke foure thouſand wylde beaſtes, and there did banquēt his armie, returning afterwardeſ to Maracanda. Artabazus excuſing himſelfe there by his age, that he was vnapt for the rule of that country: Alexāder committed the ſame to Clytus, being the manne that defended him with his Target when he was fighting bare headed at the Kyuer of Granike, and there cut of with his ſword Rhosaceris hande, that was in a readinesſe to ſtrike the king. He was an olde ſouldier of Philip his Father, and notable by many feates of warre that hee had done. Hellanice his ſiſter was Alexanders Purſe, whom he loued no leſſe then his owne mother. For theſe cauſes he committed the ſtrongeſt part of his Empire to hys Edelitie. The king that purpoſed to ſet forward his iourney the next daye, made that night a ſolemne banquēt: wherēin (beeing ouer great an aduaunter of himſelfe) when he was chafed with drinkeing, hee began to ſet forth the aches that he had done, in ſuch ſort that his wordes offendēd the eares of ſuch as knewe them to be true. The auncient men kepte ſilence, till ſuch time as he began to deface the dwinges of Philip his Father, aduaunting the noble victořy of Cheroneſe to be his daede: the glorie whereof he ſaide, was taken from him by the malice and enuy of his Father. For he alledged how in the mutinie which roſe betwene the Macedonians

an d

and the Grecke ſouldiers, when Philip laye hurt of a wounde whiche he receyued at a fraye, thought himſelfe ſure no otherwife then to conterfeite to be dead: When he defended his body with his buckler, and ſlew them with his owne hande that ranne vpon his Father to haue killed him. Which acte (hee ſaide) his Father would neuer gladly confeſſe: nor neuer coulde abide once to acknowledge his ſafegard to come by his Sonne. Hee also declared howe after the iourney hee made by himſelfe into Illiria, in writing to his Father, hee ascrybed the victorie vnto hymſelfe, whiche ouerthrew his enemis, and put them to flyght when Philippe was away. He ſaid, that in his opinion, it deserued but ſmal commendation to make a iourney into Samothracia, whē Asia ought to haue beeene ſpoyleſ and burned. Nor he thought no man worthie prayſe in daede, but ſuch as doe ſo great aches, that maye exceede all mennes credite. The young menne that were preſente, were glad to heare theſe wordes, and ſuch other lyke: but they were ungratefull vnto the auicienſt: ſpecially for Philip his caufe, vnder whom they had long ſerued. Then Clytus who in like caſe was not verie sober, tourned to ſuch as ſat beneath him, rehearſing verſes of Euripides, wheroft the king might rather heare the ſounde then the wordes. The effecte of them was, that the Greckes did enill, whiche in the monumēntes of their victořies, did ſub-

scribe onely the names of their kinges, which usurped the glory to themselves that other men did winne by shedding of their bloud. Alexander therefore which iudged his wordes to haue binne worse then they were, enuyzed of such as late nexte him, what Clytus saide. But when they kepte silence: Clytus with a louder voyce rehearsed in order Philips doinges, and the warres he made in Greece, preferring them before anye actes done since that tyme. Where uppon there dyd rise a contention betwene the young men and the olde. But the king enforcing a patience in himselfe, when hee heard Clytus deface his praise, conceyued a wonderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it seemed y he would haue brydeled his affection, if Clytus would haue made an ende of his presumptuous talke. But when he would not cease, he gane occasion to Alexander to be further moued. Clytus then did proceed so farre forth, that he durst defend Parmenio his case, & preferred the victorie that Philip wonne of the Athenians, before the destruction of Thebes. And going further and further, not onely through dronkennes, but even by a frowardnes of a contentious minde, at length saide.

If we must die through thee, Clytus is the first. For they receive greatest rewards of thy victorie, that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is giuen vnto me, that hath so often rebelled: and nowe is not onely vnsup-
pised, but such one as by no meanes can be brought to
sub-

sabiection. I am placed amongst those wilde beastes, that be of such an vncivil disposition. But I coulde passe ouer things pertaining to my selfe: if the souldours of Philip were not despised: forgetting that if the old Atharias had not turned againe the yong me, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet sticke about Alcarnazus. How is it the that Asia is conque-
red with these young men: But I see it is true that your vncle said in Italy: he chaunced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that Clytus spake or did in his rashnesse, that moued more the king, then the honourable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commaunded him to auoide out of the place, and spake no other word, sauing that he said: If thou talkest a little longer, I thinke thou wilt braid me with the sauing of his lyfe: wherof in very deed he would oftentimes proudly aduance himselfe. But notwithstanding that the king had willed him to depart, yet he taried still, and would not rise: And therefore such as sate next him, tooke him by the armes to leade him away, blaming, and giuing him exhortatio-
for his better usage. When Clytus sawe himselfe drawen forth against his will: I re was added to his drunkennes, and declared then a-
loud how that he with his brest defended the kings backe:but now when the good turne was past, the very memory of his benefit was hated: and therewith layed to his charge the death of Attalus, and finally mocked the Oracle of Ju-
piter, whom Alexander claimed to be his father
and

and sayd that he told hym better trues than his father did. At those wordes the king was stirred to such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne being sober: But having then his senses ouercome with drinke, leaped sodainly from the table. His friendes were amazed, which throwinge downe the cuppes for haste, rose to waite the ende of the thing, they sawe him goe about in such a fury. He tooke a speare out of a squiers hand, & would haue striken Clytus, y was yet raging with yntemperance of his tongue: But he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdiccas, who tooke him in their armes, & stayed him for all his striuing: and Lissimachus and Leonatus tooke away the speare. Then he called to his garde for ayde, crying out that he was taken by his next friendes, as Darius was of late, and willed the trumpet to be blowen, that the armed men might assemble vnto the court. Then Perdiccas and Ptholomeus fell downe vpon their knees, requiring him that he would not persecute in his wrath which he so sodainly had conceiued, but rather respite his displeasure, saying that he might the next day much better oþer y matter. But his wrath preuailed so much that his eares were shut vp, & he ran in a fury amongst the watchemen, plucking a speare out of one of their handes, which once gotten, he stood in the entrie, through the which they must needs passe that supped with him. When all the rest were come forþ, Clytus came last

with

Without light. And because Alexander could not discerne him, he asked what he was: but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the acte he went about, appeared in his voyce. But Clitus, which seeing the king in a furie, had no respect how much he had offended hym before, aunswereb that he was Clytus, which was commyng from the kinges banquet. With that worde he stike him through the body, so that he fell downe stark dead, and was all sprinkled with his bloud. Goe now quoth he, to Phillip, Parncrrio, and to Attalus. Herein it may be seene that nature provided euill in the disposition of man, which for the more parte can not consider so well thinges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexander's ire was asswaged, and his drunkennesse past, weyng aduisedly the foulenesse of the acte hee had done: he considered then y though Clytus had vsed ouer much liberty in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue slaine so noble a man of warre: yea, and the sauor of hys owne lyfe, though he were ashamed to confess it. He sawe that he being a king, had vsed the detestable office of an executioner in reuenging with wicked slaughter the liberty of wordes, which myght haue bene imputed vnto wine. When he beheld the bloud of him which a little before he had bidden to his banquet, ran ouer al the entrie, and y the watchmen were so astonied & amazed, that they stode a farre of and durst not come nere:

his

his solitarines caused his repentance to bee the greater. Then he plucked the speare out of the dead corpses, and would haue thrust it through his owne body if the watchmen had not come running, and with great striuing wrung ysame out of his hands. That done, they tooke him vp, and caried him into his lodging, whereas he fell downe flat vpon the ground, filling all the court full of the miserable noyse of his howling and lamentation. He fare his face with his nayles, and required such as stood about him, that they would not suffer him to live in such a shame & dishonour. In these requestes he consumed the whole night, and caused diligent search to bee made, whether it were the ire of the gods or no, that had caused him to commit so hainous an acte. At length it was found that the yeerely sacrifice due unto Bacchus, was not done in due tyme: And therefore it appeared manifestly, that it should be the wrath of the gods, that had moued him to commit murther vpon eatynge & drinking. But the greatest thing that increased his sorow, was the amasement of his friendes, when he sawe them shinke from him, and that none of them after that deed done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. Then he perceiued that he should lyue as a wilde beast in a desert, both fearing others and also afraid himselfe. The next morryng he commanded the body bloudy as it was, to bee brought into his chamber, which when he sawe

lying

lying before him, fell in weeping, and said: Shall I after this sorte requite my Nurse, whose two sonnes are slaine for my glory at Philætū, I haue now killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at myne owne hand: What refuge shall that wretched woman haue: I was all the comfort that did remaine to her, and now she shall never be glad to behold me. Shal I the wicked killer of my preseruers, returne into my countrey, when I shall not be able to present my hand vnto my Nurse, without the remembraunce of her miserie?

When he could put no ende to these kind of bewailings and complaints, the body was taken away by the appointment of his friendes. After he had lyen threé dayes shut vp in his chamber, sorrowing after this maner, the Squiers, & such as had the keeping of his person, seeing him giuen obstinately to death, brake into his lodging, & with great payne brought him (though he long withstode their prayers) at length to take some relief and sustenance. And to the entent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to be buried, but that the king commanded it. Hauyng consumed ten dayes at Maracanda, specially to confirme the shame he had conceiued of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with part of his army into Bactria to prouide vitailes against Winter: And committed the same prouince unto Amintas, which before he had giuen to Clytus. From thence he went into a countrey called Zenippa that confineth with the Scithians, which being well

Well inhabited and full of villages, doeth with the plentifulnes thereof, not onely detaine the inhabiteres to dwell there still, but also inviteth straungers to come amongest them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that did rebelled: but after Alexanders commyng was knowen, they were driven forth by his cuntrymen, and two thousand and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together, which were accustomed to live by theft and spoyle in tyme of peace: whom not onely the warre, but also dispaire of forgiuenesse, had made more cruell, and their wilde dispositions worse. They gaue an onset sodainly vpon Amyntas, that was Darius lieutenant. The battell was long doubtful betwixt them: but finally, they lost 7. hundred of their number, wherof 3. hundred were taken prisoners, and turned their backes to the victors, not without a reuenge: for they slew of them 4. score, besides 3. hundred and fiftie that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this second rebellion, they obtained pardon. When Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his whole army into a countrey called Nauta, the Lord whereof was called Hismithres, who had gotten two sonnes by his owne mother, it being lawfull there for the parents to use their children. The same Hismithres with 2000. armed men, fortifid & kept the straite at the entry of the countrey wher as it was most narrowe. The passage was defended

fended both with a riuier and with a rocke, thos row by which rocke the way was made by force of hand. The light is received in at the entrie: but further inward there is none, but such as men bring with them. From this Rocke there goeth a vauete vnderneath the ground, that hath issue into the fieldes, which be not knownen but to such as be of the same countrey. Though this straite was naturally strong, and defended besides by a strong power: that lefft not Alexander to attempt it, but brought Engynes which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortification as was made with hand, and with slinges and shot of arrowes, did beate his enemies from the places of their defence. When he had driven them away, he passed through the fortifications he had wonne, and made approch vnto y rocke. But the stremme that grew of the assemblie of waters falling from the mountaine was an impediment to him therein. It seemed a wonderfull worke to fill the chanell of the riuier: yet he caused trees and stones to be brought to y place, & set the thing in hand. When his enemies that never had seene any such worke before, sawe the worke rise sodainly like a mountain, they were put in a maruelous feare, which the king supposing they might haue bene brought to render it vp: sent one Driartes of the same nation, to perswade Hismithres to render the rocke. And in the meane season to put them in more feare, he caused towers of wood to bee brought forwaards,

forwards, and did shote with engines so out of the same, that the enemis forsaking all other strengths, retired into the top of the rocke. Oriartes finding Hismithres in this feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alexanders benevolence, then his force, and seeing al creatures submitted theselues vnto him, that he onely should not be his let, goyng with his victorious army into India, whereby he should turne other mes plagues vpon his owne necke. Hismithres would haue bene contented to folow his advise, but that she which was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how she woulde rather dye, then commit her selfe into any mans hand: And therefore beyng ashamed that the loue of libertie shold remaine more in a woman, then in him beyng a man, altered his purpose, takynge that way which was more honest then sure, and dismissed him that was the meane for peace, determining utterly to abide the extremite of the siege: Yet when he had weighed well his enemis power and his owne togetheres, began againe to repent him of his wiues counsell, as of a devise more rash then profitable, & made suite that Oriartes woulde returne, profering then to commit himselfe to the kings will, onely requiring of Oriartes that he woulde not vtter his wiues minde and opinion, for feare least she shoulde not obtaine her pardon. He sent therefore Oriartes before, and he came after with his wife, his children, and all his kinsfolke, without taryng

taryng for any assurance promised to hym by Oriartes. Alexander hearing of their comming sent his horsemen before to cause them to stay, and tary for his commyng. And when hee was come to the place where they did abide, he offered sacrifice to Minerua and Victoria, restoring to Hismithres his former rule and authoritie, putting him in hope of a greater countrey, if he woulde faithfully continue his friendship, and tooke his two sonnes presented to him by the saother, to serue his warres. Alexander left his footmen to subdue such as were yet vnyelden, and went forwardes with his horsemen into other partes. The way was craggy and difficult, which at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwardes when their horse houes were forne asunder, and they vtterly forswearied, many were not able to follow, but rid dispertled & out of order: the wearinesse of their trauaile so much ouercame shame. The king notwithstanding changed often horse, and pursued without ceasing, his enemies that fled before him: By reason whereof, all the noble yong men y were wont to accompany him, were left behinde, sauing onely Philip Lissimachus brother, who the beyng in the flower of his youth, and of great likelyhood to become an excellent man, folowed on fote the king that did ride on horsebacke by the space of fiftie furlongs: Lissimachus diuers tymes for all that, profered to him his horse. But in no wise he woulde depart from the king,

notwithstanding, that he had on his corslet and all his armour. When the kyng passed thow a wood where his enemies lay in ambusment, he sought notably, and rescued the kyng fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flight and driven out of the woodes, the greatnesse of his courage, which had sustained him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, and beyng all on a sweate, leaned himself to a tree, which did not so stay him, but that he fell to the earth, and beyng taken vp agayne by the kinges handes, shunke downe from him and dyed. The king being sorrowfull for his death, received another tidinges no lesse to be lamented. For before he came to hys campe, he was aduertised of the death of Eri-gius, one of his most notable Capitains, whose funerals was both celebrated with great pomp and ceremonies of honour.

From thence he determined to goe vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstode that Spitanenes was. But Fortune that never ceased to fauour him, finished that iourney of his as she did many other. Spitanenes was enflamed with the ouermuch loue of his wyfe, whome he caried with him in all his hazardes and aduentures. But she that could not well endure flying, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so wearie of trauell, that by flattery and faire meanes she entised her husband to leue his flying, and goe about (seynge he saw

no'waysto escape) to procure Alexander's fauour : of whose clemencie (she sayde) he had seene so great experiance. And to moue him the more in the matter, she brought before him the chil-dren begotten betwixt them, making request, þ at the least wayes he would take pitie on them, wherein she thought her prayer would be the more effectuall, because Alexander was not so neare at hand. But Spitanenes iudging her not to doe this by way of counsaile, but of purpose to betray him, and that she desired to submit her selfe vnto Alexander, in confidence of her beautie, drew out his sword to haue striken her, if he had not bene letted by his brethren. When they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he commauded her to auoyde his sight, threatening to kill her, if she prefered to come agayne into his presence : And to mitigate his loue towardes her, he spent the night amongst his concubines. But his loue that was so deepeley grounded, thereby ceassed not, but rather kindled the more towards his wyfe. Wherefore he reconciled himselfe agayne vnto her, making his continuall request, that she would not counsaile nor moue him any more in the matter, but be content wch such chances as Fortune would send him : for he esteemed death lighter þ to yeld himselfe. She purged her selfe of her former perswasion, which appeared to her (she said) to haue bene god, and though it

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were after a womans maner, yet it proceded of a faithfull meanyng. Yet from thenceforth she was contented to do as it shold please hym. Spitamenes ouercome with her counterfeit affection, made a great feast, and after much eating and drynking became drousie, and was carried into his chamber. When his wife perceyued him to be in a deepe sleepe, she pulled out a sword, which she had kept secretly for that purpose, and cut of his head, deliuering the same being sprinckled with bloud, vnto her seruant that was priuie to the facte, and with him onely, as she was embred with bloud, came vnto the Macedones campe, willyng it to be signified to Alexander that there was one come, that had to speake with him. He by and by gaue commandement she shold enter: but when he perceyued her defiled with bloud (thinking that she had come to lament some iniury done vnto her) willed her to declare what she would haue. She desired that her seruaunt might come in, from underneath whose garment she tooke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The palenessse of the face wanting bloud, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when y^e king perceiued it to be a mans head, he deparced forth of the tent, and by enquirie vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexite, & he was driven by diuers imaginacions into sundry opinions. He iudged the killing of such one (beyng a fugitiue and a rebell)

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to be a great benefite vnto him: which liuyng might haue bene a great let and impediment to his proceedinges. But on the other side, considering the horriblenessse of the deede, that shée shold kill him by treason, which loued her so entirely, and by whom she had had children: the violence of the acte ouercame the thanke of her benefite, and she was commanded to depart the campe, least the ensample of such licentiousnes might corrupt the maners and ciuill disposition of the Greckes. When the Dahans vnderstood of Spitamenes death, they brought Dataphernes bound, that was partener with him in his conspiracie, and yelded themselues vnto Alexander. He beyng deliuered from the greatest part of his present care, determined to reuenge the iniuries of them which had bene misused by the pride and couetousnesse of his deputies and officers. Therefore he committed Hircania w^t the Cardons and Capirions to Prataphernes, to whome he gaue in commission to send Phra-dates his predecessor to him as a prisoner. Tamsonor was substituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arsamus. Arsaces was lent into Media, to the intent that Dridates shold remoue from thence. Babylon upon the death of Mæzus was committed to Deditamenes. When he had ordained these thinges, the third moneth he drew his army out of their winter lodgings, to go vnto a countrey that was called Gabaza. The first dayes iourney was quiete,

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and the next not very tempestuous: yet darker then had bene accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were commyng. The third day the element was full of lightning, and when the lightning ceased, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amazd the souldiours, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in straunge similitudes, so that the army stode astonied, and durst neither goe forwardes, nor remayne still in a place. Then there came sodainely a shower of haile driuyng like a streame, which at the first they defended by couerture of their harneis: But shortly after their handes were so cold and wette, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet devise which way to turne themselues, finding alwayes where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Euerie man therefore brake his aray, wanderyng about the woodes, and many that were wearied by feare rather then by trauaile, lay downe vpon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the cold had converted the shower into a frost. The trees, against which they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested, that they chose themselues a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the natural heate left them. But ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refusid not to die in restyng of them,

themselues. Their affliction was not onely vexement for the tyme, but also continued very long: to the encrease whereof, the light, which is a naturall delectation vnto men, through the darkenesse of the shover, and the shadow of the wood, was so taken away, that it appeared as it had bene night. The king onely was able to endure this mischiefe, which ceased not to go about the army, drawing the souldiours together when they were disperkled, lifting them vp that lay on the ground, and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoke that rose a farre off from the cotages, whether he exhorted them to drawe for succour. There was not any thyng more effectual to their safegard, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue their Prince, who they sawe endure this mischiefe, they chased themselves with their labour and trauell. But necessitie (which in aduerte fortune is of moze force then any reason) found out a remedy for this cold. They fell to cutting downe the wood, making euery where heapes & stackes thereof, and set them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged that the whole wood had ben on a flame. For there was scarcely space left betwixt the fiers for me to stand. Then their nummed mem bers began to be moued with the heat, and their spirits which were oppressed by force of the cold began to haue their free recourse: Some recou red the cotages, which necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthest part of the Wood,

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and the rest recovered the campe, which was planted in a moist ground. But by that time the shower was ceased, the tempest had consumed a shousadd souldiers, varlets and slaves. It is sayd that diuers were found frozen to death, leaning against trees, and yet seemed as though they had bene liuyng and speakeyng together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedones, which had much payne to go and cary his armour, came at the last into the campe where the king was: who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his owne body agaynst the fire, yet he did rise out of his chaire, and pulling of the nummed souldiours armour, that was almost past his remembraunce, set hym down therin. He a great while knew not where he late, or who had received him. But at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceyued it to be his kings seate, and the kyng to be there present, was afriad, & start vp agayne. But Alexander beheld hym in the face, and said: Perceuest thou not now my souldier, with how much better condicō thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their king? For it is death for the to sit in the kinges seate, and the same hath bene the saueguard of thy life.

The next day he called his friendes, and the capitaines of the army together, promising to restore to the whatsoeuer they had lost, where in he perfourmed his promise. For Hismithres bringing vnto him many beasts of burden, with two thousand Camels, and great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributed all amongst the soul-

souldiers: wherin he both restored to their losse and also deliuered them from hunger. The king gaue great thankes vnto Hismithres, and commanding his souldiers to carie fire dates vnto alles ready dressed, went to the Sacans, where he destroyed all their Countrey, and of the bootie there taken, gaue thirtie thousand sheepe iu gift to Hismithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging to a noble prince called Cohortanus, which submitted himselfe vnto the king. And he againe restored his countrey vnto him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his three sonnes he should send two with him to serue in his warres. But Cohortanus offered to him all three, and made a feast vnto Alexander, with all such sumptuousnes as belonged to the maner of the countrey. Therein all the pleasures beeing shewed that could be devised, thirtie vyrgins of the noble mens children were brought in befores Alexander, amorigst whom there was Cohortanus daughter called Korane, which in beautie and excellencie of personage, and in comelinesse of apparell (rare amongst those Nations) excelled all the reste. And notwithstanding that they were all elect with whom she was accompanied: yet she dwelte all mens eyes towardes her, and specially the kinges, that could not well holde gouerne his affections in such prosperitie of fortune, beeing the thing that the frailnesse of man seldom can auoide. Thus he which beheld the wife of Darius and her two Daughters,

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(to whome Korane was nothing comparable) with no other intente then he might haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young byrgin, beeing but of a base stocke, if she should be compared to kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to bee a thing necessarie for the establishment of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to mary togither: by which onelye meanes shame myght bee taken from the vanquished, and pride from the victors. Hee also for his purpose alleadged a president, hewe Achilles (of whome hee was descended) ioyned himselfe with a captiue. And least hys dwinges shoulde bee thought iniurie, he wold couple himselfe by the waye of mariage. The Father ioyfull of these newes that he looked not for, gladly confirmed the kinges wordes: Who in the heate of his desire, caused breade to bee brought foorth, according to the custome of hys Countrey, the same beeing the molte religious ceremonie of mariage amongst the Macedons: which bread was cutte asunder with a sworde, and eche of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the customs of that nation, coueted by a moderate and a scarce dyet, to shewe to them that were the gatherers of great riches, with howe small a thing they ought to content themselves. Thus he that was both king of Asia and Europe, ioyned himselfe in mariage with a maide brought in at a maske, to begette vpon a captiue, that

should

shouldaign ouer the victorious Macedons. His frendes were ashamed that he should chuse vpon drinke a father in lawe, of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and franknes of spech beeing taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as the most apt instrument to declare the consent of the mynde. After this was done, he prepared his tourney towardes India, purposing to visite the Occean Sea. And because he would leauue nothing behinde his backe that might be impediment to his erpedition: he tooke order for thirtie thousand young men to be leuid out of all the prouinces, and to be brought to him armid, minding to vse them both as pledges and as souldiers. He sente Craterus to pursue Haustanes, and Catenes: of whom the one was taken, and the other slayne. Polycarpon also subdued the countrey that was called Bacacen. And so hauing set all thinges in order, he set his whole imagination vpon the warre of Inde, which was counted to be a verie rich countrey, and to abounde both with golde, pearles, and pretious stones: thinges more appertayning to voluptuousnes, then to magnificence: & it was saide that the souldiers there had their targets made of Iuorie, and of gold. And therefore least he which thought himselfe to excel the rest, should bee passed in any point, caused hys souldiers to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their brydels of golde,

golde, and their corslettes to bee beautified with golde, and with siluer. There were a hundred and twentie thousand armed men that followed Alexander in the warre. When all thinges were in readines (for the purpose he long before conceiued in his euil disposed mind) ethought it time to compasse how he might vsurp the name and honour of a God, and so willed himselfe not onely to be called, but also to be beleued to bee the sonne of Jupiter , as though his power had beeue as wel to restraine mennes thoughtes as their tongues. His intent was that the Macedons should fall groueling vpon the grounde & worship him after the like maner the Persians did their kinges . And to such his desire, there wanted not pernicious flatterie, the perpetuall poyson of Princes, whose estate hath had more often ouerthrows by flatterie, then by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this : for none of them suffered gladlye their countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of y Greekes, which with their naughtie conditions corrupted the profession of honest sciences . There was one Hages of Argiuе, as euill a Poet as was since Cherillus dayes, and an other called Cleo a Sicilian, giuen to flatterie both of nature, and by the custome of y countrey. They with other the dredges and refuse of their countreys (whom Alexander reputed more then any of his capitains or his kinsmen) would haue made it appere to the world, that heaven

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had layen open for Alexander, and sticke not o penly to pronounce that both Hercules & Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, shoulde all giue place to his new Godhead. For the bringing of those thinges to passe, the king commaunded vpon a solempne day a feast to be prepared with great pompe, inviting thereunto all the great Lordes and Gentlemen, both of the Macedons and the Greekes : with whome when he had sitten and eaten a while, he departed from thence out of y feast. Then Cleo, as was before determined, set forth his talke with great praise and wonder of the kinges vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefites towardes them all : which to requite, he saide there was but one way , and that was if they would acknowledge him a God, whō they knew to be one. For it is a smal thing (quoth he) to recompence such great benefits towards you with the cost of a little frankincense. He shewed the Persians custome to bee both religious and wise, in worshipping their kings as Gods: thin king their defence and sauegarde to consiste in the maiestie of their Prince. He saide, that Hercules and Bacchus were deified, when they had once overcome the envy of such as liued in their time : And men that come after , doe easily beleue such thinges as haue beeue confirmed by their predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will sticke at this matter, ye shal see me the first that at the kings comming in, shall fall down groueling on the earth and worship him. Whic i pre-

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Sudent others ought to folow, and specially men of most wisedome, that should alwaies be example to others in doing their dutyes toward their prynce. His tale tended directly against Calistenes, whose gravitie and prompt libertie of speaking was hateful unto the king: for he thought hym the man which onely had staied the Macedons, that els would readily haue done to him that honour. Hereupon cuerie mans eies were turned towards Calistenes, which after silence made, said in this wise.

If the king were present (Cleo) to heare these thy wordes, it shoulde not bæ needfull then to aunswere thee: for he himselfe would make request that he might not thus swerue out of this kinde into the customes of straungers, nor he would not suffer that thou shouldest deface and bring in the obloquie and envy of men, with such thy pernicious flatterie, his noble actes brought to passe with such felicitie and good fortune. But because he is away, I will for him thus aunswere thee. There is no fruite lcone ripe, that will continue long. This I meane by the diuine honours, whiche, whilest thou goest about to gine unto the king, thou takest his honur from him. There is a time required that men shoulde belue him to bee a God: for that gift hath alwayes beene giuen to great men, when they are once deade, by such as came after them: I wishe unto the king immortallitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his estate continuall. But sanctifying is a thing that sometime doth followe a man, but it never doth accompany him. Thou diddest rchearre examples of the deisying of Hercules, and Bacchus. Thinkest thou that they were made Goddes vpon dynke, and by the decree of one Dinner? The nature of Alexanders manhoode must bee remoued from our mortall eyes, before the fame can bryng hym into heauen. Are not they goodlie Goddes (Cleo) that

thou and I can make? Would the king bee contente (knowest thou) to receyue of vs the authoritie of hys Godhead? I haue great desire to prove thy power, if thou canst make a God, first make a king. It is much more easie to giue a worldy kingdom, then the possession of heaven. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the immortall Goddes wyll haire the without dysdayne, or suffer these thy wycked deuyces to take effecte? They would that wec shoulde holde vs content with the customes of our forefathers: and for my parte I am not ashamed of my Countrey, nor I require not to learne after what maner I shoulde honour my Prince. Soz in my opinion, wee acknowledge him sufficently to bee king and victourour, of whome we receyue Lawes to liue bnder.

Calistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they counted the recoverer of their libertie. He did not only in his tale paint out such flatterers, but also lively exprest the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auncient men, to whom the exchaunge of their olde usages were greeuous. The kyng was nothing ignorant of the wordes that had passed betweene them: for hee stooode behynde a partition of the Hall, and heard all the matter. He sent word therfore to Hegis and Cleo, that at hys comming in, they shoulde moue the straungers onely to fall downe and worshyppe him after their Countrey custome. And after a whyle, the king (as though hee hadde beene about some matters of importaunce, retourned agayne into the feast: and then the Persians fell downe and worshipped him after such sorte as was devised, but Polcarpon

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that late aboue the king at the boord, asked one in scorne that touched the ground with his chin, why he kissed no harder: with which wordes he moued Alexander to yre, whereof he was ever vnpacient: so that he said vnto Policarpon: Is it thou that disdainest to honour me? shall I be mocked of thee alone? He aunswered, that it was not seemely a king should bee scorned, nor yet a subiect despised: With which wordes the king plucked him from the table, & threwe him downe: to whom he saide, falling groueling vpon the earth: Lo, hast thou not done thy selfe, that before thou didst scorne in an other man? and thereupon he commaunded him to warde, and so brake vp the feast. Policarpon being thus punished, was afterwardes pardoned, but Calistenes (whose contempt and stubbornesse the king had long grudged at)grounded his displeasure then more deepeley: vpon whom there chauced shortly after an apt occasion to be revenged. It was a custome (as it hath beene said before) amongst the noble men of Macedon, to put their sonnes when they were past their childhode in seruice to the king, as pages to do necessary businesse about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber doore, where the king laye. The Concubines were brought in by them by an other way where the garde watched. They likewise received the horses of the grommes of the stable, & brought them to the king when he leaped on. They alwayes were

were about the king both in hunting & in bataille, and were brought vp in the studie of bellall sciences. The chiefest honour was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eat with the king: none had power to correct them with strypes, but onely the king himselfe. This companie was like a maile or stoe, from whence all the Capitaines and gouernours of the Macedons did come. From thence came their later kings, whose lynage the power of the Romains long after did extinc. Hermolaus one of y number, because he had stryken a Boare (whome the king had thought to haue striken himselfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with roddes, which rebuke hee tolke greeuously and complained to Nicostatus his frende, that was one of the same companie: Which seeing the bodie torne, wherunto hee had so great affection, and peraduenture offended also with the king before, for some other cause, stirred so Hermolaus (which was prouoked sufficiencly already) that ech gaue faith to other to find a way to destroy the king: Which they ercuted, not with any chileish proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring Nicostatus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, and Philotas into the fellowship of their conspiracie. And afterwards they ioyned vnto them more, Anticles, Elaptonius, & Phimanes. But the meane how to performe this enterprize, seemed verie difficult, because it behoued all them to watch togither. And it was the vsage that

usage that according to their courses, some wachéd one night, and some another. For if anye shoulde happen amēngst them þ were not priuie to the matter, the same might be a lette to the whole enterprise. Therefore about chaunging þ course of their watch, and in other preparation for the execution of their purpose, there passed 23 daies. At length the night came when the whole number of the conspiratorz shoulde watch togither, who rejoiced greatly amēngst themselves, that ech had kept faith to other: wherof so many daies silence had given great profe: during which time neither feare nor hope, had altered any of their mindes, so great was their displeasure they had conceived against the king or els the fidelitie they bare ech to other. They were standing at the doore where the king dyde eate, to the intent that at his rising from þ banquet, they might bring him to his chamber. But Alexander's fortune, and the pleasantnes of such as were in his companie, moued him to drinke largely, whereby, & by reason of other pastimes and deuises, the time was so prolonged, that the conspiratorz stode in a marueilous perplexite. For one whyle they were glad, because they trusted to finde hym drunke, when they shoulde go about their enterprise, and another whyle they were in great agonye, least he shoulde sitte till day light, for then the custome was to retiue the watch, and other to succeed in their places, and since their course shoulde not bee
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come againe til the seventh night after they could not be assyred that every one of thē would keepe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appeere, and Alexander was rySEN from the banquet: they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receive the king. There was a woman accustomed to haue the Court, which beeing ex fraught of her minde, and seeming by some inspyration to shewe thinges to come, met Alexander, and wou'd in no wise suffer him to passe, but perswaded him by all meanes she could devise, to returne and sit downe againe. He saide to her in sport that the Gods gaue him god aduise: and thereupon called backe againe to hys familiars, and late drinking till it was two hours after day light. By which time an other company had relieved the watch, and were standing before the kings chamber doore: yet for all that the conspiratorz remained stil after þ time of their watch expyred: So vehement is þ hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they bee drownid in the desire to great things. The king spake more gently to them then hee was accusomed, and willed them to go to their rest, for so much as they had wached all the night besore: & gaue vnto euery one of them in reward 50. sestercies, with commendation of their diligence, þ they continued their watch longer then their time. Being thus deceived of þ great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings,

in expectation of the night when their course
should come againe. But Ephimanes which ei-
ther by the gentlenes of the king shewed him a-
mongst the rest, or els that he thought the pro-
vidence of God had withstode their purpose, so-
deinly chaunged his mind, and opened y matter
they had gon about to his brother Eurilochus, y
was not priuie to y matter before. The punish-
ment of Philotas was so freshe in euerie mans
memorie, that Eurilochus laide streightwayes
handes vpon his brother, and brought him in-
to the Court. He called to the watch, and shew-
ed them that he brought newnes pertaining to y
kinges sauegarde : which thing well appereid,
as well by their comming at such a time, as also
by their sadnesse, which was a testimonie of
their troubled mindes. The watch men called
vp Ioholomeus and Leonatus, that lay within
the kings chamber, who streightwayes brought
them in to the king, and wakened him, that by
reason of his much drinking lay in a dead sleepe.
It was long ere he awoke, but by little and little
he came to himselfe, and asked what the matter
was. Then saide Eurilochus, thanked be the
Gods that haue not utterly determined the ru-
yne of our familie. For though my brother pur-
posed an heynous acte, yet is hee come to repen-
taunce, by him the matter is brought to light.
This same verie night treason was conspyred
against you, the authours thereof be such as you
would scarcely thinke.

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And thereupon Ephimanes declared all things in order, with the names of the conspirators. It is certeine that Calistenes was not named as one priuie to that treason : but it was confessed that he gladly gaue eare to others talke , when they blamed and spake euill of the kinges proceedings, some doe ad therunto, that when Hermolaus did complaine to Calistenes how y king had beaten him , he bad him remember how hee was a man. But whether hee spake it to take y thing in patience , or els to stirre him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the king was fully awaked , and called to his memorie y perill he was in , hee gaue Eurilochus fistie falentes, with the forfait of a rich mans goods cal- led Tiridates , and forgave his brother, before his pardon was required. He commaunded the principals of this treason to be kept bound, and amongst them Calistenes : who beeing taken & brought into the Court, the king slept all y day, and the night ensuing: he was so heauie w drin king & watching. The next day he called a great councell, whereat the fathers and kinsfolkes of the conspirators were present, not verie wel as- sured of their sauegarde, because that by the law of the Macedons all ought to die, that were any thing of kynne to traytours. All the conspyra- tors except Calistenes by the kinges commaun- dement were brought foorth, immediately con- fessing the whole treason that they had deuised. Then euery man present reviled them, and the

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The eyght booke

and the king required what he had done to the, why they shold conspyre his death. When all the other stode still and helde their peace: Hermolaus aunswered thus.

Ye demaund this thing of vs, as though yee knewe not the matter. We went about to kill you, because you began to raigne ouer vs, as if we were slaues, and not free borne.

As he was speaking those wordes, his father Persepolis called him traytour and murtherer of his parents, stopping his mouth with his hand because he shold speake no further. Then the king plucked his father backe, and willed Hermolaus to speake such things as he had learned of his master Calistenes. Then Hermolaus proceeded,

I will vse your benefite, and declare those thinges which I haue learned to the great mischiesc of vs all, Howe small is the number of the Macedons remayning, that haue escaped your crueltie: Attalus, Phylos, Parmenio, Lyncestes Alexander, and Clytus are nowe dead: but to our enemies behoove they bee aliyue. They stode in the sight, and defended theire with swordes, receyving woundes for your glorie and victorie, which nowe be verie well rewarded: The one besprinkled your table with his bloud, & the other could not be suffered to die a simple death. Thus the Captaines of your people be tormented and put to death: a pleasant spectacle to the Persians, of whome they soote victourers. Parmenio, by whom ye slew your enimis Attalus, was put to death without iudgment. Thus ye vse the handes of vs wretches as instrumets dñe to kill another: and such as cuen nowe were your tormentours, streightwayes you commaund to be tormentors of others.

At those words the multitude began to shout again

against Hermolaus, and his father drewe out his sword to haue slaine him, if he had not beene letted by the king, which commaunded Hermolaus to speake, requyring the rest to heare hym paciently, which (he saide) enforced the cause of his owne punishment. At length with great lasbour they held their peace, and then Hermolaus began againe.

How libeरall is he to suffer rude chidren to speake, when the voice of Calistenes is shutte vp in pyyon, because hee alone is able to tell his tale: And why? because he feareth the free speech of an innocent, and because hee cannot endure to beholde his face: and yet I wil iustifie that he is not priuy to this matter. But other there bee here that purposed with mee a notable enterpise, of whome there is not any that can accuse Calistenes of consent, and yet our so patient and righteous a king, hath determined haere his death. These be the rewards of the Macedons, whose bloud is misused as vyle, and of no vaour. He hath thirty thousande Mules carying spoyle and treasure, and yet the poore Souldiers cary nothing with them but unrewarded woundes and skarres: All which thinges wee did easily suffer, before haer did betray vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade of victozers made vs slaues. He alloweth the apparayle and discipline of the Persians, and despiseth the maners of his owne Countrey. And therefore wee determined to kyll him, not kyng of Macedon, but kyng of Persia, and as a fugitiue persecuted him by the lawe of Armes. He woulde haue the Macedons knele to him, and worshipppe hym as a God. He refused Philipppe for hys ffather: and if any God had bene before Jupiter haer would haue refused hym lykewise. Doe you marueyle if free menne cannot beare this his prude? What can wee hope for at hys handes, seynge wee must eyther die as innocentes; or els (that is worse then death) lyue and remayne in bondage as slaues?

B.b.iiij.

He

He is greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: so he may learne of mee the thing that free hartes cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall be sufficiently tormented with the losse of their children: but upon vs cause execution to bee doone, to the intent that wee maye obteine by our owne death, the libertie we sought for by his.

When Hermolaus had spoken these words, the king then aunswered after this maner.

How false these thinges bee which he hath learned of his instruccioz, my patience doth declare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this treason, yet my mind was ye shold heare what he could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this theele to speake, that he would vise the same rage & furye in his talke, which before moued him to haue killed me, who he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late whē that in hunting he vised a great presumption, I commaunded him to bee chastised after the custome of our countrey vised by the kinges of Macedon: Which chastisement wee must graunt needfull to bee doone, lyke as the pupils bee accustomed of their tutors, the wyues of their husbands, and seruantes of their maisters. This was all the crueltie I vised towardes him, which he would haue reuenged wþth murther and treason. But howe gentle I am to all persons, that suffer me to vise myne owne disposition, since you your selues do know, it were but superfluous for mee to rehearse. I can not maruaile at all, though punishment of traptoures bee displeasant vnto Hermolaus, since hee himselfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned Lyncestes Alexander, which was accused by two witnessses, that hee twise conspyzed treason against mee: and againe convicted, yet deferred I his punishment twoo yeres, tyll you your selues required that he might haue his deseruing. Touching Atalous, þe remember verie well, howe hee wrought treason agaynst mee before I was king. And for Clytus, I would God hee had not moued me to yre,

whose

whose rash tongue speaking the rebuke & shame both of me and you, I suffered longer then he would haue done me, speaking the like. The clemency of the kings and princes consisteth not onely in their owne dispositions, but in such as be vnder their subiectio[n]. For the rigour of such as be rulers, is mitigated wþth humilitie. But when mens mindes be vþyd of reverenc[e], and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then force is necessary to repulle violence. But why do I maruel that he laid crueltie to my charge, that durst obiect towards me couetousnesse: I will not call you to witnesse one by one, least I shold braid you with liberality, by making declaratio[n] what I haue bestowed vpon you. Behold the whole multitude, which a little while ago had nothing els but their bare armour: doe they not lie in siluer beds: be not their tables charged with plate, & possesse they not wþle flocks of slaves: They are not able to sustaine the spoiles of their enemies. But it is sayd, the Persians be honoured of me, whom we haue conquered. Truly they be so, and yet what greater p[ro]ufe can there be of my moderation, then that I doe not raigne proudly ouer such as I haue subdued. I came into Asia not vtterly to subuert the nations, nor to make the one halfe of the world deserte, but to giue the conquered cause not to repent them of our victory. This is the occasion they gladly fight for you, and for your kingdome spend their bloud, which if they were proudly vised, would straight rebell against you. The possession is not durable which is possessed by violence, but the thankes of gentlenes received, endured euerlastingly. If we purpose to enjoy Asia, & not to make a progresse thorow it, we must make them pertakers of our clemencie, and then their fidelitie shall make our Empire stable and perpetuall. And truly we haue now moze then we can well wilche or desire. Couetousnesse is an unsatiablie thing, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe and bring their customes amongst oures. It is so, and why: because I see in diuers nations right many things which we neade not be ashamed to follow. And so great an Empire as we haue gotten, cannot otherwise be aptly governed, except we deliver some

Some thlgs to them, and receue likewise some things agayne. One thing is to be laught at, that I shoud refuse Jupiter for my father, beyng so acknowledged by his oracle: as who saith, the answer of the gods were in my power. He profered the name of his sonne vnto me, which was not a thing vnmerte for the things we purposed. I would wilche that the Judis-
ans belaued me to be a god: for the successe in warre standeth much by fame, and that which is tally bala-
ued, sometyme worketh the effect of things true. Doe
you note me gien to excise and prodigalitie, because
I garnished your armour with gold and siluer: My
purpose was to shew me accustomed with such things
nothing to be more vile then such kinde of metall, & to
declare that the Macedons invincible in other things,
could not be ouercome with gold it selfe. After this
maner I shall blind the eyes of the barbarous, which
are wout at the first sight to wonder at things, be they
neuer so base and vile. And in that we shew to make
no estimation of it, we shall declare to all men that we
are not come for desire of gold nor siluer, but to subdue
the whole world: From which glory thou traitour,
thou wouldest haue bereaved me, and betraied the Ma-
cedons (I being slaine) to the barbarous nations. I
am exhortid to be your parents. Is it needful I shoud
make him priuie what I haue determined of them: no
I will not: and to that intent he might die with the
greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them.
It is long agoe since I did forde the custome of put-
ting the innocent parents and kinssfolke of traitours to
death with the offenders. And I now professe to par-
don and haue the all in the same estimation I had be-
fore. I know why thou wouldest haue thy master Ca-
listines brought forth, which onely esteemed thee, be-
ing of his sort: because thou desirest to haue pronoun-
ced of his mouth, those railing words, which euē now
thou didst spit out against me. If he had bene a Ma-
cendon boxe, I had brought him int̄ the place with thee:
a worthy master for such a disciple, but beyng borne in
another countrey, he is subiect to another law.

Wher he had spoken these words, he dimissed

the

the councel, & commanded all such as were con-
demned, to be deliuered to the souldiers of their
owne bands: Who because they would declare
by some cruelty þ loue they bare towards their
prince, slue them al by tormentes. Calistenes al-
so died vpon the racke, innocent of the conspira-
cie against the kings person, but a man not pli-
able to the custome of the court, & abhorring fro
the disposition of flatterers. There was neuer
thing þ brought the Greeks in greater indigna-
tion against Alexander, then þ he not onely kil-
led, but caused to be tormented to death, & that
without iudgement, a man endued with godly
maners and good sciences, by whom he was per-
swaded to liue, when he purposed to haue dyed
for sorow that he had slaine Clitus: Which his
cruelty, repentance followed that came too late.
But lest he might noyish idlenes, apt for sowing
of seditious rumors, he marched toward India,
alwaies moze glorious in war th̄ after his victo-
ry. The whole country of India lieth chiefly to-
wards þ east, containing more in length then in
brede. The north parts be ful of mountaine s &
hils, but al þ rest of þ land is plain, hauing many
faire riuers, which running out of þ mount Ca-
casus, do passe thorow þ country. Indus is moze
cold th̄ any other riuers, whose water is not vni-
like þ color of þ sea. But of al þ riuers in þ M̄rit
Ganges is most excellēt, which running from þ
south, passeth directly thorow many great mou-
tains, vntill that þy the encountring of rockes,

þt

his course is turned toward the East, where it is received into the red sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, swalowing in trees, and much of the ground. In many places the streame is kept in with rocks, where upon it beateth: But where the ground is more large, and maketh many Islands. The greatness of Gauges is much increased by Acesines, which meeete before they enter into the Sea: At their meeting the water is violently troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others entrie, neither of them seeme to giue place to other. Diardnes is a riuier of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the uttermost boundes of India: but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doeth, and also Delphines, with monsters unknownen to other nations. Crooked Crimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions, is consumed by the inhabiteres with watering their ground, which is the cause that when it draweth nere the sea, it becommeth very little, and beareth no name. There be many other riuiers that do divide the country, but none of them be so famous as these, because they doe not runne so far. The North wind doeth blast and harme most those partes that be next unto the Sea: But those windes be so broken with the tops of the mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward partes of the countrey, wherefore fruites be very plentifull there and perfect. But that region both differ so much from the ordinary course of tyme

tyme in other partes of the world, that when other countries be burned most with the sunne, India is couered ouer with snow. And when other places be frozen, the heate is there most intollerable, and yet there appeareth not any naturall cause why it should be so. The colour of the India sea not differing much from the water of other seas, did take his name of king Eris thus, whereof the ignorant tooke opinion, the water of those seas was red. The land is very abundant of flaxe, whereof the more part of their garments be made. The twigges of the trees be so tender, that they receive the print of letters like ware. The birdes by teaching, counterfet mens voyces. There be many beastes which are not bred amongst other nations. Rhinocerotes be there brought forth, but not bred. The Elephants of that country be stronger then those that be made tame in Affrike, and their bignesse doe answer vnto their strength. The water of the riuers doe carry downe golde, and runne mildly without any great fall. The Sea both cast vpon the shore both pearls and precious stones, whereof proceeded the cause of their great riches, after their merchandise was once knownen to other nations, the purginges of the seas beyng then esteined, as mans fancies would make the price. The disposition of the men (as in all other places) be according to the situation of the countries they dwel in. They make their garments of liauen cloth, which couer their bo-

vies downe to their feete. They binde soles vnder their feet, and wrappe rolles of linnen about their heads. Such as be in any degree either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones haging at their ears; and couer all their armes with bracelets & ornaments of gold. They vse great curiositie in kembing of their heads, which they round very seldome. They haue without any forme of grauitie, all partes of their face, sauing their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnes (which they call magnificence) vseth by them, doeth exceed the vices of all nations. Whē their will is to be scene abroad, their seruaunts cary about them perfuming pannes of siluer, and fill all the wayes where they goe with swēte sauours: they themselues be borne in litters of gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments they weare, be of gold and purple together. The armed men follow their litter, and such as be of their gard, amongst whom there be birds borne vpon boughes, which they had taught alwayes to sing, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In the kinges palace there be pillers of gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein the images of those birdes they delight most in, be artificially wrought. The court is open to all commers. When the kinges doe kenne and dresse their heads, then they vse to gine answer to the Embassadoures, and to doe justice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of, their feete be annointed with swēte odoures.

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greatest trauell they take, is when they hunte wilde beastes enclosed in Parkes, which they strike whiles their Concubines be singing and daulting with them. The arrowes that they shote, be of two cubites long, which doe not the effect of the force they be shot withall, by reason of their weight, which is an impediment to their swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrowes chiedly consisteth. In small iourneis they vse to ride on horsebacke: but when they haue to traueill further, they be carried vpon Elephantes, whose huge bodies be couered all ouer with gold. And because no vice should want amōgle their corrupt maners, great routes of cōcubines do follow them in golden litters. The Queenes haue their bands separeate by themselves, which in all excesse of voluptuousnes be nothing inferior vnto the kings. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, and they also serue men of wine, wherof there is great plenty amongst the Indians. When þ king hath largely drunke, & is fallen in a sleep, his cōcubines vse to cary him into his chāber, calling vpon their gods, with a song after their counrey maner. Welho would thinke þ amongst al these vices, there were any regard had of vertue. There is amōg thē a rude & vnciuil kind of people, whō they call wise men, which count it þ most gloriouſ thing to prevent their own death, & they vse to burne themselues whiles they be aliue. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age,

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or haue not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till naturall death approach: Nor there is no honour giuen to those bodies that dye for age. They thinke the fires be defiled, if the bodies be not alive that be burned in them. Such as liue in cities after a ciuile maner, attaine to the most apt knowledge of the starres mouing, and of the prophesieng of things to come. Nor they cannot thinke that any man doeth shorten his life, that looketh for death without feare. They esteeme those for gods, whcm they begin once to worship, and specially trees, the violding of the which, they forbid vnder paine of death. They count after 50. dayes to the month, notwithstanding limite their yeeres as they do in other places. They marke not their times by such course of the Moone as is commonly vsed: that is, from the full Moone, but from the first quarter, when she beginneth first horned: and by counting after the same maner, make them the shorter. There be many other thinges reported of them, with the which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this history. As Alexander entred into India, the princes of the countrey came unto him, submitting themselues and declaring, that he was the third man that euer came amongst them, beyng begotten of Jupiter. They said that Hercules and Bacchus was not knownen to them, but onely by fame, but they rejoyced that they might behold him presently with their eyes. Alexander recei-

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ued them with all gentlenes he could devise: & willed thē to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when he sawe that the whole number came not, hee sent Ephestion and Perdicas with part of his army before, to subdue such as would not submit themselves, and willed thē to go forwardes till they came to the riuere of Indus, and there to make boates, wherby he might transpōrt his army: And because they had to passe many riuers, the boats were so devised, that they might be taken asunder to be caried in cartes, and afterwards ioyned againe togither. He appointed Craterus to folow him with the Phalanx: and he with such horsemen and footemen as were light armed, went before, and beyng encountryed on his way, fought with a small battell, and did drive his enemies into the next city. Whē Craterus was come (to the intent he might strike terror amongst those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he commaunded y when they wanne the citie, they should kil both man, woman, and child, and burne the same to the hard ground: But whiles he rid about the walles, he was striken with an arrowe. Notwithstanding the citie was wonne, and all put to the sword, the very houses not escapyng the victors cruelty. After this he subdued an obscure nation, and came to a citie called Pisa. It chanced that whiles they encamped in a wood before the city, there fell a cold in the night, that

C. i.

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more afflicted the Macedones, then ever it had done before in any other place: Against y which they prepared the remedy that was next at hand, and cut downe the wood to make them great fiers: The flame whereof caught the sepulchres beloing to the citie, which by reason they were made of Cedar, were sone set on fire, and never left burning, till they were all consumed. That fire made both an alarme in the citie, and to the campe: for thereby the citizens iudged y their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barking of the dogs, and noise of men, that the Indians would salie out upon them. Wherefore Alexander issuing out of his camp in order of battell slue such of them as attempted the fight. Thereupon, they within the citie became of divers opinions, some were minded to yeld, and other thought good to aduenture the extremite. When Alexander understood of their deuision, he caused his man to abstaine from slaughter, & onely to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wiered with the discommodities of the warre, that they yelded themselues. They affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who in dede builded their city at the foote of a mountain called Herroe: The quality of which mountain being reported to Alexander by the inhabitants, he sent vitails before, & passed thither with his whole army, encamping upon the top thereof. The mountain grew ful of vines and iuy, & bound

bouding w̄ springs y flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentiful of many kindes of apples of most pleasaunt taste, the ground also brought forth corne without any cultuation. There grew also plenty of Laurell trees, with many kindes of wild fruit. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plenty & wantonnes, that caused thē to repaire thither: where, of the iuy & vine leaues, they made them selues garlands, & ran vp and downe after a dissolute maner, all the holowes & valleys thereabout rebounding with y voyce of so many thousands, calling vpon Bacchus, to whome y place was dedicate: Which licence & liberty begun of a fewe, was spredde so sodainly throughout the whole army, that the souldiers scattered abroad without order, lay here & there reposing themselves vpon the grasse & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bene in a time of quiet & most assured peace. Which licentiousnes of the souldiers rising by chance, Alexander did not w̄stand, but y dais together made feasts to Bacchus, during which time he bāqueted his whole army. Who can therfore deny but y greatnes of fame & glory, is often a benefit rather of fortune thē of vertue: for their enimies had no hart to set upon thē whiles they wer drowned in this excess of banqueting, drūkenshipp & droussines, but were as much afraid of their drunken noise, as if they had heard their cry encōmtring with them in battell: Which felicitie preseruyng them here,

C. g.

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did afterwards defend them after the same manner in the midst of their enemies, returnyng as it were in triumph from the Ocean sea, when they were givē al to feasting and drunkennes. When Alexander descended from the moun-
tain, he went to a country called Dedala, which the inhabiteres forsoke and fled to the woods and the wild mountaines : and therefore hee passed from thence into Acadoza, which he found both burned and abandoned likewise of the inhabi-
ters : whereby of necessitie he was compelled to vsse the warre after another maner. For he de-
uided his army into diuers partes, and shewed his power in many places at once . By which means he oppressed them before they could pro-
uide, and subdued them to their vtter ruine.
Ptholomeus tooke most cities, but Alexander wan the greatest, and afterwards ioined againe his army together, which he had thus deuided. That done, he went forwards and passed a riuer called Choaspe, where he left Cenon to besiege a rich city called Bezira, and he himselfe went to Mazage, where Assacanus being dead, had left the dominion both of the countrey and the city, to his mother Cleophes. There were 30. 99. footmen, to defend that city, which both was well fortifyed, and strong of situation, beyng en-
closed upon the East with a swift riuer, hauyng steepe banks defending the city, that it could not be approuched on that side. Upon the South and the West parts, nature (as it were for y nonce)

had

had planted high rockes lyng betwixt them , & deepe hollowes and pits made of old antiquitie, where as the rockes ceased, there began a ditch of a wonderful depth and hidenesse. The wall wherewith the city was enclosed, was 35. fur-
longs in compasse, wherof the nether partes were buylde of stone, and the upper partes of clay : Yet stones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the fraile substance clingyng to the harder, the one shoulde binde the other. And least the earth washed vpon with the raine, might fall altogether, there were stanchings of timber put betwixt to stay the whole worke : which couered ouer with hooches, was a way for men to goe vpon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was vncertayne what to do. For he saw he could not approch to the walles but by silyng of those ditches and hollow pla-
ces : And that he could not otherwise fill them, then by making a mount, which was the onely way he had to bring his engines to the walles. But whilist he was viewing the towne after that maner, he was striken from the wall with an arrow in the thigh. Whiche he pulled out, and without wrappynge of his wound, called for his horse, and letted not for his hurt to give order for such thinges as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, the bloud drue from the wound and waxed colde, whereby his hurt began to paine him, he then sayd that he was called the sonne of Jupiter :

C. iij.

but

but yet he felte in himselfe the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding, he wold not retorne into the campe, before he had viewed all things that were necessary, and appointed all things he wold haue done. After that the souldiers haue received their appointment, by plucking vounie of houses without the towne, they got great plenty of stufse to make the Mount withall. And by casting stocks of trees on heaps into the ditches and hollow places, the Mount within ix. dayes was raised vp to the top of the walles, and the towers were planted vpon the same: such was the labour and diligence þ souldours vsed in the matter. The king before his wound was closed vp, went to see how þ works went forward: and when he perceiued them in such case, commended the souldiers for their diligence, and caused thinges to be brought to the walles, out of the which they that defended the walles, were sore afflicted with shot. And by reason they had not saene any such kinde of worke before, were wonderfully amazed, specially whē they beheld the towers, and yet could not perceive by what meanes they were moued, iudged those things to be done by the power of the Gods.

And besides, they could not thinke it a matter of mans inuention, that so great dartes and speares as came amongst them, should be shott by engines, dispairing therfore of the defence of their citie, they retited into the castle. And because

they could not be satisfied any maner of way till they had yeelded themselves, they sent Embassadours to the king to aske pardon: which thing obteined at his hand, the Queene with a great traine of noble women came forth, bearyng in their handes cuppes of gold full of WINE: who presenting her little sonne before the kings feete, not onely obtained pardon, but also restorment of her former dignitie. Wherefore some thought that her beautie procured her more fauour, then his mercy. But this is certaine, that the childe which afterwardes she brought forth (whosoeuer did beget it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was sent with a power vnto a citie called Pera, where he ouerthrew in battell the inhabiteres that encouered with him, whereby he got the citie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders handes by the abandoning of the inhabiteres, which assembled themselves together in armour, and kept a rocke called Dozinis. The fame was that Hercules had besieged the same before tyme in bayne, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to depart. When Alexander viewed this rocke, & saw how steepe it was and unpassable, became voide of counsell, till such tyme as an olde man that knew wel the place, came to him with his two sonnes, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way vp to the top. Alexander promised them 4. score talents, and keeping one of his sonnes

sonnes as pledge, sent him to performe that hee had promised. Mullinus the kings Secretarie was appointed with certaine souldiours light armed, to folow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians by fetching a compasse about the rocke. But the same rocke was not as the more part bee, which lying a slope, hath wayes vp unto the top by degress. For it stode bolt upright after the fashion of a butte, broad beneath, and euer as it grew upward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: And it was enclosed on the one side with the riuier of Indus, having high and steepe bankes, and vp on the other side with deepe ditches and hollow places ful of water and mud. Wherefore thers could be deuised no way to win it, except those ditches were first filled. There was a Wood at hand, which the king comanded to be cut downe, and causing the boughes to be shredde of for the cariage, filled the holowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare the first tree, & all the souldiers folowed after w^t a couragious shoute: for there was no man þ would refuse to do that they saw the king begin, so that within 7. daies þ ditches and hollow places were filled vp. Then the king appointed the Agriās, & the archers, to go to the assault, & did chuse 30. yong mē of such as he iudged most apt for the purpose out of his band, appointing Charus & one Alexander, to bee their conducters, and exhorted Alexander that the remembrance of his name might make him hardy.

At

At the first because the hazard was so manifest, the king was not determined to aduenture hys own person, but when the trumpet blew to the assault, he was of such a ready courage, that hee could not absteine, but making a signe to hys garde that they should folowe him, was þ first that set foote vpon the rocke. Then there were few contented to tary behinde, but many lefte their araye whereas they stood in order of bataille, and folowed the king. The chaunce of ma-ny was miserable, whome the running Ryuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the Rocke: Which sight was sorowfull to such as were out of daunger, being admonished by the perill of other what they ought to feare them-selues: hereupon their compassion being turned into feare, they lamented aswell themselves, as those whom they saw die before their faces. At length they went so far firth, that without get-ting of the Rocke, they could not retyre backe without great destruction. For their enemies rowled downe great stones vpon them, where-with they were easily beaten downe, by reason the Rocke had so slipper and vnstable standing. Yet for all that, Charus and Alexander, which were appointed to the leading of the thryty chosen souldiers, had gotten to the toppe, and began to fight hand to hande. But there were so many dartes cast at them from a far, that they receyued more woundes then they could give, wherefore Alexander both mindfull of his name, and

of

of his promise, whilst hee fought more egerly
then warily, was enclosed about & slain. Whom
when Charus sawe deade, he ranne vpon his e-
nemis, and vnmindfull of all things sauing of
reuenge, slew many with his pyke, and dy-
uers with his sword. But being laide by so ma-
ny at once, he fell downe dead vpon the bodie of
his frende. The death of these two so hardye
young men, and of the reste, moued Alexan-
der greatly: yet perceiuing no remedie in the
matter, caused the retreit to be sounded. It was
greatly for their sauegarde, that they retyred by
little and lytle without appearance of any feare.
And the Indians contented to haue repulsed
theyr enemies, pursued not after them. Alexan-
der here-uppon was determinyd to leau off
hys purpose, seing hee sawe no hope howe to
winne the Rocke: yet he made a countenance
as though hee meant to continue the siege still.
For both he caused the wayes to be closed vp, &
made an appoach with towers of wood, alwaies
putting fresh men in place of them that weary-
ed. When the Indians perceived Alexanders
obstinacie, two daies and two nights they ban-
queted continually, and plaied vppon tymbrels
after their maner, to cause theyr enemies think
that they had no doubt in the siege, but trusted
surely to preuayle. The thyrd night the noise of
the tymbrels ceased, & many torches were seene
burning, whiche the Indians had lighted to see
whiche way they might escape downe the rocke
in

In the darke night. Alexander sent Balacrus
to discouer the matter, who founde that the In-
dians were fledde, and that the Rocke was ab-
doned. Then a signe was giuen that the whole
army shoulde giue a shoute togither, whereby
they did stryke such feare amongst their ene-
mies flying without order, that many of them
thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped
downe the Rockes, and slew themselues, wher-
of some mayned in theyr falling were leste be-
hind by their fellowes that fled away. Thus the
king being victor of the place, rather then of y
men, testified notwithstanding with solempne
sacrifices vnto the Gods a greatnes of victorie,
and set vp Alters vppon the Rocke to Minerua
and Victoria. And though the guides that hee
appoynted to his light armed menne, performed
not so much as they promised, yet their reward
was truely giuen them. And the rule of the
Rocke with the countrey thereabout, was com-
mitted to Hisocostus, he himselfe going for war-
des with his army from thence to Echolina.
But vnderstanding that certeine streights tho-
rough the which he shoulde passe, were kept by
one Crix with twentie thousande armed men:
He committed that part of his army that were
heauie armed to Cenon, to bee brought on by
soft iournetes, and going before in person wyth
the slyngers and Archers, put his enemies to
fayght making the way cleare for his armie to
passe that followed after. The Indians whe-
ther

ther it were for the hatred they bare to their capitaine, or els to get the fauour of the victou-
rer,killed Erix as he fled away, and brought his
head and his armour to Alexander. He consider-
ring the foulnes of the acte,would not honor the
doers for the example thereof,nor punish them,
because they serued his purpose. From thence
by rvj.remouings hee came to that parte of the
Riuier of India,where Ephestion had prepared
all things in such sort as he had commission.

One Dmphys was kyng of that Countrey,
which before had perswaded his father to sub-
mit himselfe vnto Alexander. Whiche immedie-
tly vpon his fathers death sent Embassadores vn-
to him to know his pleasure,whether he should
take vpon him as a king before his comming,
or els liue priuately in the meane season: And
although it was permittet him to gouerne as
a king, yet he would not vse the authoritie that
was graunted him. He had caused Ephestion to
be receiued in the best sort that he could devise,
but notwithstanding had not visited him, be-
cause hee would not commit his person to anie
mans fidelite but to the kinges. When he vn-
derstoode of Alexanders comming, he went to-
wardes him with his whole power: Whose e-
lephantes by small distances mixed in battayle
amongst his footemen, shewed a far off lyke ca-
stels. At the first Alexander did not take hym
as a frend, but as an enemie, and therefore set
his men in order of battailes, and his horsemen

in winges in readines for to fight. When Dm-
phis vnderstoode the errore of the Macedons, hee
commaunded his men to stay, and putting hys
spurres to his horse,rode forwardes alone. Alex-
ander did the like, putting no doubt whether he
were a frend or an enemy, but thought himselfe
sure,either through his owne manhoode, or the
others fidelite. Their meeting as it appereed by
their countenances was very frendly: but for
want of an interprетor,they could not speake to
gither. Therefore after they had called one vnto
them, the Indyian king declared vnto Alexan-
der, that the cause why he met him with an ar-
mye, was to put immedietly his whole power
into his handes, and had not (he saide) taryed
for treat of any assuraunce by messengers , but
vpon trust onely had committed both his perso-
and kingdomme vnto him, whome he knewe to
make warre for the winning of glorie and fame
and therefore could not feare in him any perfi-
die. Alexander rejoiced to see his simplicitie, and
proffered him his right hande as pledge of hys
promise , and restored to him againe his kyng-
dome. He presented vnto Alexander Ivi. Ele-
phantes , with many other beastes of exceeding
greatnesse , and three thousand Bulles, which
is a cattell of great value in those countreys , &
much esteemed of kinges . Alexander enuyzed
of him whether hee had vnder his dominion
more souldiers,or tyllers of the ground. He an-
swered that he was dynuen of necessitie to haue
more

more souldiers, because he was at war with 2. kinges, whose kingdomes lay beyond the River of Hidaspis. Their names were Abiasares, and Porus : but the authoritie remained in Porus : And said that he was prepared, & resolued to adventure the hazard of the battaile with such of them, as shold invade him first. Hereupon Alexander graunted unto Dimphis, both to take vp on him the diadem, and the name of his father that was called Taxiles : y^e custom of the countrey bearing such, that the name ever followed y^e kingdome whosoeuer enjoyed it. When he had received Alexander honourably in hospitalite three daies, the fourth day declaring howe much corne he had delivereed to Ephestion and to hys army, he presented to the king & to al his frends crownes of golde, and besides of coyned siluer 80 talentes. Alexander rejoiced so much in his good will, that he both retourned againe to him hys giftes, and gaue him besides a thousand talents of the spoile he brought with him, with much plate of golde and siluer, many garmentes after the Persian maner, and 30. of his owne horses, with the same furnitures they wore when he did ride vpon them: which liberalitie as it boud Dimphis, so it greatly offendeth the minds of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he had deepeley dronke said: he was very glad that Alexander had yet founde one in India, whome he iudged worthie to receive the gift of a thousand talentes. The king bearing in minde, how much

much he had repented the slaying of Clytus for the rashnes of his tongue, refrained hys anger, but yet tolde him that eniuions men were euer tormentors to themselves. The nexte day the Embassadours of king Abiasares came unto Alexander, who according vnto they^e commission offered all thinges vnto his will : Where-upon promise and assurance being confirmed, they returned againe to their maister. Alexander therefore thinking that through the greatnes of hys name, Porus might bee brought to do the lyke, sent Cleochares to him to demand tribute, and to sommon him to come and make his homage, when he shoulde enter the boundes of his kyngdome. Porus made aunswere, that of these two requests he would performe one, which was to meete him at the entrie of his kingdome, but y^e should be in armes and with a power. Alexander therefore hauing determined to passe the riuer of Hidaspis. Barzenes that had beene autho^r of the Rebellion amongst the Arachosians, was taken and brought to him bound with xxx. Elephants : an apt assistance against the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes, then in the force of they^e owne nation. Camarus king of a small portion of Indis, that had confederated wyth Barzenes therein, was brought likewise bounde vnto him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the Elephantes to Dimphis, caue vnto the Ryuer of Hydaspis. But Porus laye in Campe on

the further side to let his passage, having fowre score and five Elephants of huge strength of bo- die, three hundred wagons of warre, and thypstie thousand footemen, amongst whom there were many Archers, whose shaftes (as hath been said before) was more heauie then they could well Welde. Porus himselfe did ride vppon an Eli- phant greater then all the rest, who also beeing of big stature, appereed notable in his armour, that was garnyshed with golde and siluer, ha- uing also a courage equall vnto the strength of his bodie, and so great a wisedome, as was possible to be found amongst such rude nations. The Macedons were not so much afraid with the sight of their enemies, as they were with the greatnes of the Riuier that they had to passe, which beeing foure furlonges in breadth, and so deepe that no bottom could be found, appereed to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse thereof mitigated nothing the violence of the streme, but ranne with no lesse furie then if it had beeene narrowe, appearing by the repercus- sion of the water in many places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This Riuier beeing sufficient to feare them of it selfe, the sight of the further banke full of horse and men, was an in- crease of theyr terror: Where the Elephantes, that had bodies of an unreasonable bignes stood in their sight, beeing prouoked to bray of pur- pose, to the intent that with theyr horrible noise they shold fill theyr enemies eares full of feare.

Though

Thongh the Macedons were couragious, and had theyr harts full of good hope, as they which oftentimes had had experiance of theyr owne actes: Yet theyr enemies, and the Riuier both togither made them wonderfully amazed. For they could not thinke howe to keepe a stedfast course to the further shore in so weake and tot- tering boates, nor when they were there, coulde see how to arryue in suretie. There were manie Ilandes in the middest of the Riuier, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons dyd swimme, holding theyr weapons aboue theyr heades: there they skyrmished togither in the sight of both kinges, which by experymet of such small thinges, made tryall of the successe of the whole. But amongest all the Macedons there were twoo noble young men called Sim- machus and Picanor, excelling in boldnesse and in desperate attempts, which through their con- tinuall god fortune, had gotten a courage to de- spise all perill. Other young men of the most hardiest, tooke them for theyr Capitaines, and without any other armor (sauing theyr pykes) swomme ouer into an Iland beeing full of theyr enemies, where through boldnesse onely, they slew many of them, and so might haue returned with glorie, if rashnesse (where it findeþ pros- perous successe) could euer be content with mea- sure. But whilst with skorne and pryde they taried for their enemies, they were sodeinly enclosed of such as priuily swom ouer the Ry- uer,

Dd.s,

uer, and were kylled with darts which they cast at them from a farre. Such as in this case escaped theyr enemies, were eyther drowned with the bvolence of the water, or the eddies of the streame. This fyght put Porus in greate courage, that saine all their doinges from the further shore: And though Alexander was long vncerteine what way to take, yet at length hee deceiued his enemie by this policie. There was an Iland in the Riuere greater then the rest, and apte to hide his devise, by reason it was full of wood, and had a great rampyre cast vpon that banke, that was towards his enemies: There both his footmen, and horsemen might stand couered from the sight of the Indians: & the rather to turne their eies another way from the spying out of that opportunitie, he caused Ptholomeus with a great number of his horsemen to shewe them-selues agaynst theyr enemies far of from the Ilande, and to put the Indians in feare of theyr crie, making euer a shewe as though they would swymme ouer the Riuere: Which thing Phtolomeus did manie dayes continual-ly together, to the intente that Porus shoulde be enforced to remooue his power to that parte to withstande him, and by that means brought them out of the syght of the Ilande. Alexander also caused his owne pauileon to be set vpon y Riuers side ouer against his enemies, and all the pompe that pertained to the state of a king to be set forth within their view, with the same bands

bande standing in sight, which was went to remaine about his person. Furthermore Atalos, that was equall with Alexander in peeres and like to him in face and personage, stood ther openly apparailed like a king, that it might ap-peare to Porus, that Alexander was still remain-ning there, and went not about to passe the Ri-uer. The execution of this devise was first lets-ted by a Tempest, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effecte: for-tune euer vsing to turne her discommodities in to good successe towardes hym. For when the enemies were thus attente to obserue Ptholo-meus that lay beneath vpon the Riuere against them: And Alexander with the rest of the army busy about the passing of his men into the Iland before mentioned: There fell sodeinly a greate storme, scarsly tollerable to such as laye within their cabbens, which so much afflicted the sol-diers abroad, that they forsooke theyr boats, and fledde againe to lande. And yet for all this theyr clamor and theyr noyse was not heard of their enemies through the vehemencie of the shoure. As this tempest began sodeinly, so it sodeinly ceased: but the Cloudes remayned so darke, y there appereed not so much light, as the soldi-ers might know one another by the face, wher they spake togither: which darkenesse myght haue feared some other man, considering they had to row in a riuere they knew not, their ene-mies peradventure waiting for the at their lais-

ding, whether they went , as blind men that for glorie fought for perill. But Alexander vsed the thing that put other men in terror, to serue for purpose, and willed that euery man(vpon a sign giuen) shoulde enter into their boates with silence : his boate was the first that launched fro the shore , towardes the further side that was boyde of his enemies, Porus onely keeping hys watch against Phtolomeus . There was but one boate that stacke falle by the way vpon a Rocke, and all the other recovered the lande. Alexander then commaunded his souldiers to prepare their armour, and fall into aray : And whilste he was deuiding his men , to put them in order of battaile, marching towards his enemies : it was reported to Porus , that a great number of men of war were come ouer the Riuuer , and landed , which would streightwayes giue him the battaile. But hee at the first (according to the fault y is in mas nature through the ouer much confidence he had in himselfe) beeleeued not the matter, but thought that Abiasares, which was confederate with him, had come in his assistance. Yet when the day appeared, and the matter was manifest, Porus then put forth a hundred armed wagons , and foure thousand horsemen, vnder the leading of Hages his brother, to keepe Alexander dowing. They counted those Wagons their principall force : for euerie one of them caried 6.men, 2.archers, 2.with targets, and two that ruled the horses, which were

nos

not vnaarmed, but when it came to y fight, they let their reynes loose, and bestowed theyz dartes amongst their enemies. But those of the Wagons serued that daye to small purpose : for the shoure that had fallen more violently then was accustomed, had made the fields so wet and slabbie, that the Wagons could not stirre, but stuck in the myre, and became immouable : Whereas Alexander beeing wythout baggage , or any thing that might bee impediment vnto him, fiercely invaded his enemies . The Scithians and the Dahans were the first that gaue the onset: and Perdiccas was appointed with the horsmen to charge vpon the right hand battaile of the Indians . Then the battailes beginning to ioyne on all partes, they that had the charge of the wagons , counting them the last refuge, slacked their reynes, and rushed forwardes into the middest of the fight. The comming of these Wagons appeared to be a matter daungerous, and doubtfull to both parties . For at the first brunt both the Macedons were borne ouer, and ouerthowne by them : and when the wagons came in anie rough or myrie places , the Indians were thowne out of them . For when the horses that drewe them were once galled, and put in feare , they carryed the Waggons without gouernement, and tumbled part in the myre , and parte in the Riuuer : A fewe traversed the fieldes, and fled for succour vnto Porus : who seing his wagons scattered ouer all

D.d.ij.

the

The eight booke

the fieldes, and wander about wythout theyr
Rulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants
amongst his frendes, and placed his footemen,
and Archers behinde them. He had many that
sounded vpon tymbrels, (being Instrumentes
that the Judians vse in stead of Trumpettes)
Wherewith their ears were so filled, that the
noyse of theyr enemies litle moued them.
They bare also the Image of Hercules in the
front of theyr foyte battaile, which was done for
an encouragement for them to fyght well, and
for a note of reprofe and offence to them that
should flye from that theyr Standard. For it was
losse of life to them that left it in the field. So
that the feare whiche they conceiued of Hercu-
les that sometime had beeene their enemie, was
then tourned into a veneration and Religion.
The sight both of the Elephantes, and Porus
himselfe, astonied the Macedonis, and caused
them a while to staye. For the beastes beeing
set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a
farre off like high towers, and Porus in maner
exceeding the stature of manye, the Elephant
whereupon he did ride, was a setting forth vnto
his highnesse, which excelled so much all the
other Elephantes, as hee himselfe excelled the
rest of the men: So that Alexander beholding
both Porus and his power, saide: that at length
he had found a pearele equal vnto his heart. For
wee haue to doe (quoth hee) both with terrible
beastes, and with notable inche of warre.

And there-upon he looked towards Cenon, and
saide vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus,
Perdicas, and Ephestion shall set vpon the lefte
battaile of our enemies, and you shall see vs in
the heate of the fight, doe you then set forwards
my right battaile, and freshly assaile them whē
you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigo-
nus, Leonatus, and Taron, doe you bende your
power against their maine battaile, & set vpon
their front. Our pikes be long, and strong, & can
not serue to any better vse, then against the E-
lephant, wherwith they may be thrust through
and such ouerthowne as be caried vpon theyr
backes. The Elephantes be but an vncerteine
force, which vse to do most harme to their own
parte: for as they vse to go against his enemies
so long as they be at commandement: so when
they be once in feare, they tourne against theyr
owne side, and shewe mosse rage towardes
them. He had not so lone spoken those wordes,
but he put spurres to his horse, passing agaynſt
his enemies: and when according to his ap-
pointmet he had giuen the charge, Cenon with
a great force brake vpon the leſt battayle. And
the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amon-
gest the myddest of their enemies. When Po-
rus sawe the horſemen give the charge, hee put
forwardes his Elephantes to encounter them.
But they being slowe beastes, & not apt sodainly
to moue, were preuented by the swiftnes of the
horses: and their bowes stode not them in any
great

great sted: for by reason their arrowes were so long and heauy, that they could not nocke them within their bowes, except they staid first their bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slipperie that they coulde haue no perfect fowting: Whilist they were preparing themselues to shooote, their enemies were come amongst them. Then euery man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth often tymes amongst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule then the capytaines appointment. For in so manie partes as their armie was deuyded, so manye generalles became amongest them. Some woulde ioyne all theyr battailes in one, other woulde haue them deuided. Some willed to stay, and other to go forward, and enclose their enemies about: There was no generall consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a fewe (with whome shame preuayled more then feare) assembled such togither, as were dispercked abroade, and went forwardes agaynst hys enemies, setting his Elephantes in the fronte of the battayle. They put the Macedons in feare, troublyng with their vnwantonede crye, not onelye the horses that naturallye doe feare them, but also amazed the menne, and disturbed theyr order. In so much that they which a little before thought them selues victors, looked about which way to flie, and saue themselues: Whych thyng when Alexander perceyued,

he

he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armied, and after to skirmish a far off, then to fight hand to hand. They gaue the Elephantes and their gouernours much adoe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts, and arrowes that they bestowed amongest them: And the Phalanx came constantly forwardes agaynst them that were in feare. But such as preased ouer forward in fighting with the Elephantes, procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feete, were an example to other, not to be ouer hastie in aduenturing themselues. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunkes called Proboscides, tooke men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully, till the day was farre spent: the souldiours sometyme flying from the Elephants, and sometyme pursuing after them, vntill that with a certaine kinde of crooked wepons called Copidæ (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon the legges. Whose the Macedons had right aptly devised: for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing unprooued. Finally, the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent strugling, did cast their gouernours to the earth, and sare them in pieces: for they were put in such feare,

feare, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driven out of the battell like sheep. Porus beyng forsaken of the more part of his men ceased not to cast dardes, whereof hee had plenty prepared vpon his Elephant, amongst them that flocked about him, whereby he wounding many, by reason he lay opē to euery mans blowe, was layd at on all partes, till he had received it woundes behinde and before, through the which he bled so much, that he had no power to cast any more, but for feblenesse they fell out of his hands. The Elephant also which he did ride vpon, pricked forwardis with fury, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntill that his gouernour seeing the king so faint, that he let fall his dardes, and to be almost past his remembrance, stirred the beast to flie away, whom Alexander followed in all that he might: but his horse that was thrust in with many woundes, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherefore he was about to change, and take another, was cast farre behind.

In the meane season Tariles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhort him that he should not be so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yeeld himselfe vnto the victor. But he notwithstanding y his strength was neere past, and his blood failed, yet stirred vp at a knowne boyce, sayd, that he knew him to be the brother of Tariles, a traitour to his king and his countrey, and with that wordes

tooke

ooke a dart which by chaunce was not fallen as way, and threw it so at Tariles brother, that it passed through the middest of his brest vnto his backe. And having shewed this last proue of his manhood, fled agayne more fast then before. But when the Elephant, through many woundes that he had receiuied, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his footemen towardes his enemies that pursued. By that tyme Alexander was come neere him, who understanding the wilfulness of Porus, willed none to be spared that made resistance, Whereupon every man threw dardes agaynst Porus, and such footemen as stode in his defence: wherewithal at length he was oppressed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. Then the Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Porus desired to haue lighted, caused the beast after his accustomed maner to bend towards the earth, which submittynge himselfe, all the rest as they were taught, bowed downe their bodies likewise, which was the cause of Porus taking, and of the rest. When Alexander sawe Porus body vpon the grounde, caused hym to bee spoyled, thinking he had bene dead, and divers ranne about hym to pull of his harneys, and his Vesture: which thyng when the Elephant sawe, he beganne to defend his master, running vpon his spoylers, and went about to lyfte hym agayne vpon his backe: whereupon they all setting vpon the Elephant,

flue

The eight booke

Sue him, and laid Porus in a cart. Whom whē Alexander did behold, lifting vp his eyes, & moued with no hatred, but with compassion sayd unto him :

What mischiefe and madnesse was in thy mynde, hearing of the fame of mine actes, to hazard the battell with me, and my power, seeing Taxiles was so nere an example of the clemencie that I vse to such as submit themselves?

To whom he made answere :

Forsomuch (quoth he) as I am demanded a question, I will answe as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing mine owne strength, and not hauyng yet prooued thine, I thought no man of greater power then my selfe, but now the successe of this battel hath declared thee to be mightier : And yet therein I do impute to my selfe not a litle felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place, and am next vnto thee.

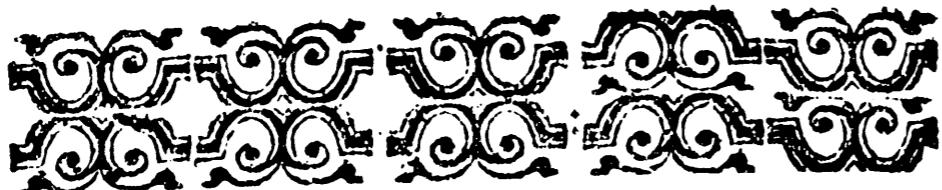
He was asked moreover his opinion, after what maner he thought good the victory shold be vsed.

Asse it (quoth he) after such sorte, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy mynd, wherin there hath bene sufficient proove shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This admonishment auailed him more, then if he had submitted himselfe, or made any suite. For when Alexander salwe the greatnessse of his courage, and his heart so voyde of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to giue him his life, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he tooke no lesse care of his curing, then if he had fought in his quarrell. And when he was once healed (contrary

to

so that which all men looked for) he received him among the number of his friendes, and enlarged his kingdome greater then before. There was nothing in Alexanders nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admiration, when it was such, that it deserued true praise and glory : and specially when he saw the same in his enemy. For when it chanced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thin-
king that their fame might bee a de-
struction to his owne greatnessse,
which he euer thought to grow
greater, as they were of
greatnessse that he
subdued.



THE NINTH BOOKE OF QVIN-

tus Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Mace-
don.



Alexander rejoicing in so notable a victory, whereby he sawe the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offred vp sacrifice vnto the sunne: and to cause hys souldiours to be more willyng to goe forwardes in finishing the rest of ywars, assembled them together; and (after he had commended their doyngs) declared how in that lat-ter battell, they had defeated and broken y force of all the Indians power, and shold find from thenceforth nothing but a plentifull pracie. For he sayd that in the countrey whereunto he was going, the riches chiefly remained that was so much spoken of throughout the whole worlde, In respect whereof, the Persians were but vile and baggage, and that occasion was now gluen them, not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all Macedonia and Greece with perles, with precious stones, with gold and with iuory. The souldiours being desirous both of riches & glo-ry, because they had never founde hys wordes vaine,

vaine, promised him to do whatsoeuer he would haue them: whe reupon he dimissed them full of good hope, and set them about the makynge of shippes, to the intent that hauyng ouer-runne all Asia, he might visite the Ocean sea, that was in the ende of all the world. The mountaynes next at hand were plentifull of timber to make shippes withall, in cuttyng downe whereof, the Macedons found Serpentes of such bignesse, as they had not seene before, and also Rhinocero-tes, beastes that be seldom found in any other place, which name was giuen to them by the Greekes: for in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander builded a citie vpon either side of the riuier of Hidaspis, which once performed, he gaue to euery one of his captaines a crowne of gold, and a thousand pieces of gold besides: preferring and rewarding every other, according to their qualitie, degree, and deser-uyng. Abiasares, which had sent Embassadours vnto Alexander before the battaile fought with Porus, sent then Embassadours to him againe, offring to doe all things that he would appoint, so that he might keepe his body at libertie: for he desired not to lyue, except he might remaine a king: & he thought himselfe unmeet to raigne, after he had bene once a captiue. He signified againe to Abiasares, yf his commyng should bee grieuous, he would not sticke to visite him in person. Having thus vanquished Porus, & passed the riuier of Hidaspis, he went forward into the inward

The ninth booke

inward partes of India, which was a countrey ful of great woods, and high trees, the aire very holesome and temperate, the shadow of the trees mitigating the heate of the sunne, and the plenty of springs keeping the ground moist: There were also many serpents seene, whose scales glistened like gold: There was nothing more dangerous then the poison proceeding from them: for immediatly vpon the stinging, death folowed, till such time as the inhabiters of the countrey shewed a remedy. From thence through desertoes they came vnto the great riuier of Hiarotis, whereunto there ioyned a great Wood, which having such trees as are not woon to be seene in other places, as also full of wilde Peacockes. Alexander remouing his campe from thence, wannte a towne by assault, and takyng pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that he came to a great citie (after the maner of that countrey) which was both well walled, & also enuironed about with a marrisse. The inhabitants came forth against Alexander, & ioyning their cartes together in a front, (wherin their custome was to fight) they profered hym the battell. Some occupied darts, some speares, and other ares, and with great agilitie leaped too & fro, to their cartes, when either they would relieue their fellowes that were weary of fighting, or els succour, or rescue such as were in distresse. This unuonted kinde of fighting put the Macedons at the first in feare, specially being

ing hurt a farre of by their enemies, and not able to come to hand stripes with them. But after they had considered their disordered maner, they esteemed not their force, but enclosed their enemies about, and thrust them in with pikes, and the sooner to deafeate them, they cut y bands wherewith the cartes were tied, to seperate the asunder. When they had after that maner lost viij. C. of their men, they fled againe into the citie, which the next day the Macedones did win by assault. Certaine there were that sauued themselves by flying, which seeing the Citie lost, swimmmed ouer the water, and filled all the townes thereabout with feare. They declared of what invincible force their enemies were of, judging them in respect of their power, rather Gods then men. When Alexander had gotten that citie, he sent Perdiccas with a part of hys army to dessroy the countrey, and committynge another part to Cumenes for the subduyng of such as would not become obedient, he with the rest of his power came vnto a strong city, which was the refuge of all the countrey thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitaunts sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuerthelesse for y war, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, y made the to be of diuers opinions: Some would rather haue endured any extremitie, the to yeld, & other thought they wer not able to make resistāce, & whilst they diffred so in opinions, & made no common consultation

C. e. t.

amongst

amongest themselves: Such as held opinion to yeld vp the city, opened the gates, and received in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had just cause of displeasure against y contrary faction, yet he pardoned them all, and receiving their pledges, remoued toward the next city. When the Indians that stood vpon the walles sawe the pledges that were brought before the army, whom they perceiued to be of the same nation, desired communication with thē, who declaring both the kings clemency, and his force, did moue them to render vp their Citie, whose example the rest of the cities did follow. From thence he came into the city of Sophites, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excelling in wisdome, best gouerned, and that haue the best customs amongst them. The chil- dren that be there gotten, are not nourished, and brought vp according to the will of their parets, but by the order of such as haue the charge com mitted vnto them to view the state of the In fants. If they perceiue any not apte to become active, or els wanting any of their limis, they cause them straight wayes to be killed. They vse to marry without any respect of kinred they come of, or the greatnessse of parentage, makyng no choise, but in the shape of the body, which is the thing y is ouely esteemed amongst thē. The king himselfe was within the chiese city of the country, against y which Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, & no man appeared

in armes vpon the wals, to make any defensē: wherefore he stood in doubt a great while, whe ther y city was abandoned, or els y the inhabi ters had kept themselves secret for some policie. Whiles he remained in y expectation, sodainly the gate was opened, & the king (which in good lines of person excelled all the rest) came forth w his two sonnes. He ware a garment of gold & purple empaled, that couered the calf of his leg, & the soles he ware on his feete were set with precious stones. All his armes were garnished with perles, & had hāging at his eares two pre cious stones which were excellent both for big nesse and brightnes: and there he had a scepter of gold set with precious stones (called Berilli) which he (after his salutation made) with hum ble submissiō delivered vnto Alexander, yelding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom in to his hands. There were in that countrey very notable dogs for y hunting of wild beasts, which specially were giuen to be eare vpon the Lion. The king therfore to shew their force & proper tie vnto Alexander, put 4. of them vnto a great lion, which straight waies caught him fast. Thē one which was accustomed to that office, tooke one of those dogs by the leg to plucke him from the Lion, and because he would not lose hys hold, cut of his leg with a sword. But when the dogge stucke neverthelesse vnto his game, he was cut asunder in piece-meale, till such tyme as he died, haing his teeth still fastened in the

Lions flesh, such a feruentnes of nature had wrought in those beasts, as we vnderstood by report. Somtime I am enforced to write things that I can scarsly beleue : For I neither dare affirme the things whereof I doubt, nor coceale such things as I haue receiued for trueth. Alexander leauing the king within his owne kingdome, came vnto the riuier of Hispasis, & there ioyned with Ephelstion, which had subdued the countrey thereabout. One Phegelas was king of the next nation, who commanding his subiectes to continue in tilling of the ground as they were wout to do; met Alexander with rich presents, refusing nothing that was commaunded him. When he had taried with him two dayes, and was determined the third day to haue passed the riuier, he found therein great difficultie by reaso that the stremme was so large, and full of great stones. He staied therfore a great while to be more fully aduertised of the state of those countries, and of al such things as were necessary for him to know. He vnderstood by Phegelas how beyond that riuier there stood a desert of x. dayes iourny, & next to that desert, the riuier of Ganges, which was the greatest riuier in al the Orient. He shewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited two nations called Gangaridans and Pharasians, whose king was called Aggramines, which vsed to come to the field with 20000 horsemen, 200000. footmen, 2000. armed wagons, and 3000. Elephants, whch were coun-

ted the greatest terror. Those things seemed incredible vnts Alexander, and therefore enquired of Porus, if the things were true that had bene told him. He confirmed Phegelas report concering the force of the nation. But he said þ kyng was not come of noble bloud, but of þ basest sort of men, whose father being a Warbour, & with great paine getting his daily living, came in fauour with the Queene, who brought him to haue all the doings about the king her husband, which was afterwards slaine by their treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutor vnto the childdren, usurped the kingdome to himselfe, and putting the childdren to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred & disgrace of the people, as one that folowed more the maners of his fathers former estate, then such as did beseme the dignitie of a Prince.

When Alexander heard Porus affirme this matter, he became in great trouble of mynde, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephantes : But he feared the greatnessse of the riuers, and the situation of the countrey, so difficult to enter upon. He thought it a hard enterprize to scke out nations so farre inhabiting in the vttermoste boundes of the world. Yet on the other side the greedinesse of glory, and the unsatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduenture to be ouer hard. He doubted also that the Macedos which had passed so many countries,

The ninth booke

and were warden aged with warres, would not be content to follow him ouer so many riuers, and against so many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For he iudged, that since they abounded, and were so laden with spoile, they would rather seeke to enjoy such things as they had gotten, then to trauell any further in getting of more, he could not thinke the same appetite to be in his souldiours, that was in himselfe.

For he compassed in his minde how to get the Empire of the whole world, into which matter he had but made his entrie: where as they worried with trauaile, and thinking to haue past all perill, looked to enjoy with spades, the fruite of all their labour: yet for all that, his affectiōn overcame reason. For he assembled his armis together, and spake unto them after this maner.

I am not ignorant (my souldiours) howe that there be now many rumours sowēd amongst you by the Indianes purposely to put you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not so new a thing, that it is able now to deceue you. The Persians after that manner would haue made both the streights of Silicia, & the plaines of Bēlopetamia terrible unto you: yea, and put you in feare of the Riuers of Tygre and Eu-phrates: and yet we waded ouer the one of them, and pasſed the other by a budge. The same never reporteth things truely, but maketh all things greater then they be in deede. Even our glory though it be growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is more in fame then in effect. Which of you of late did thinke that you should haue bene able to endure the Elephantes, shewing a farre off like Castles? Who thought I could haue passed the Riuer of Hidaspis, when it was reported to be

much greater then it was: We should long agoe (my souldiours) haue fled out of Asia, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the number of Elephantes bee greater then you haue seen herdes of beastes in other places: seeing they bee so rare in the world, and so strange to be taken: there must needs be much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The same vanitie that hath reported them to you to be of such number, hath numbred also their horsemen and footemen. Concerning the Riuers, the more broad they bee, the more gently they runne. For such as be narrow and of small breadth, runne alwaies with the most vehement streme, wheras contrarywise, the broade riuers passe their courses more mildeley. But you will peraduenture say that all the peril is at the shose, where your enemies shall waite for your arriuall. Whatsoever the Riuer be, the hazard is all one at the landyng. But imagine that all those things were true. Whether is it the greatnessse of the beastes, or the multitude of men that put you in feare: As concerning the Elephantes, we haue had experiance of them of late, how much more rigorously they rage against their owne partie, then agaynst vs, what should we esteemme them, but onely abate the greatness of their bodies, with such weapons as we haue prepared for the purpose: What matter is it whether they be of the like number that Dorus had, or whether they be four thousand, seeing we perceyue, that when two or three be once wounded, the rest vende themselves to flie away:

And forasmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but few, when there be so many thousands together, then they must needs be a great impediment one to another, and breed a wonderfull confusione amongst themselues: they bee so unwieldy by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to passe forwardes, nor yet to flye. I haue alwayes so little esteemed them, that when I haue had plenty of that kinde, I would never use them: knowyng very well that they be more dangerous to such as occupy them, then they be to their enemies. But peraduenture ie

is the multitude of their horsemen and footemen that
doe moue you: Were you nauer woot to fight against
such numbers: or is it the first tyme that you haue en-
countered with disordered multitudes? The Riuere
of Granike is a witnesse how iuincible the power of
the Macedones is agaynst any multitude. And so is
Silicia that flowed with the Persians blood, and
Arbella, whose plaines be strawed with their bones.
It is ouerlate to count the number of your enemies,
after that with your victorie you haue made Asia de-
sert. When ye passed ouer Hellespont, you shold then
haue considered your small number. Now the Scithians
doe follow vs, we haue aide at hand from the Ba-
ctrians, and we supply our power with the Sogdi-
ans. Yet for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put
my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force: I re-
serue your manhood about me, as a pledge and assurance
of my actes and doinges. So long as I may stand in
the field amongst you, I will neither waigh my selfe,
nor mine enimies. Do you but shew an apparence, that
there is hope in you and cheerfulnes, we are not now
newly entred into our trauails, but haue passed all our
labours, being come to the rising of the sunne, & to the
Ocean sea, except our owne slouth be our impediment.
From thence having subdued the worlde, we shall re-
turne as victors into your countrey. Doe not you as
these negligent husbandmen, that lose their fruit after
it is once ripe. The rewardes of our iourney be grea-
ter then our perill. The countrey that we goe vnto, is
riche and of no force, thither I purpose to bring you,
both to winne glory, and to get you spoyle. For wort-
thy you are to carry such riches into your countrey, which
be so plentifull there, that the sea doth cast them vp
agaynst the shore.

You be men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue
nothyng unpriced, nor nothyng vndone for feare: I
desire and pray you by the glory ye haue gottē, in which
ye excede the state of men, and by all that I haue de-
serued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remayne
as iuincible, that ye will not forsake mee, purposing
to visse the ende of the worlde, mee I say that haue

been brought vp as a child amongst you. I will make
no mention how I am your king: In the rest of thun-
ges I haue commaunded you: let mee nowe intreate
you in this one point. It is I that make this requeste
vnto you, which never commanded you any thing, but
I put my selfe forward in the aduenture, and daunger,
and which oftentimes in mine owne person haue bee[n]
the formest in detence of the battaile: take not the vic-
torie out of my hands, with the which (if eny bee not
the let) I shall become equall in glorie both to Hertu-
les, and Bacchus. Give your assent to mine intercessi-
on, and at length breake your obstinate silence. Where
is your shewing become that was woot to bee a de-
claration of your cheerfulness: Where be the counte-
nances of my countrey men: I know not my souldiers,
& it seemeth that I am not knowne of you. We thinkes
I cri to your deafe eares in vaine, and goe about in
waste to stirre vp your vnwylling and vnmooueable
minded.

Notwithstanding all these words, they hong
downe their heades towards the earth, & perse-
uered still in silence. Then he proceeded.

I know not (quoth he) wherin I haue unwitting of-
fended you, that you will not once vouchsafe to looke
mee in the face. I seeme to be solitarie and in a deserte.
Is there none of you that I speake vnto will answe
mee: Is there none at the least will denie my request:
What is the thing that I require: euен your own glo-
rie, and your owne encrease. Where be they nowe that
I sawe not long ago contending who shoulde take vp
their king, when hee was wounded: And nowe you
leaue me alone, ye forsake mee, ye betray me to myne e-
nemis. But I will not leaue mine enterpise though
I go alone. Put me forwards to those ryuers, to those
beastes, and to those nations, the very names of whom
ye feare so much. The Scithians and Bactrians shall
go with mee, which of late were mine enemies, & nowe
bee my souldiers. I had rather die, then be a king to be
ruled, and at other mennes appointment. Depart you
home, go I say, and triumph of the abadoning of your
king. For I will either obteine here the victorie, wher-

of you haue dispeyzed, or els die a death that shall bee honourable.

Notwithstanding all that he had saide, there was not one souldier that would ope his mouth to speake, but stode wayting that some of the Princes and great Capitaines shoulde declare vnto the king theyz states, and howe that there remained not in them any obstinate refusall of the warres, but that they were exhausted wyth wounds, and wearyed with continuall frauiale that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stode thus astoyed and afayde in silence, and looking vpon the ground, there began first a whispering and rumour amongst them, and afterwardes a lamentation: and by little & little they beganne more earnestly to shew their dolour, the teares falling from their eyes. The kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neyther to keepe himselfe from teares, but the whole assembly burst out into an excessive weeping. And when the rest were at a stay to speake, Cenonooke vpon him to preesse forwardes towardes the Judge-ment seate, where Alexander stode, signifying that he had somewhat to say. When the souldiers sawe him pull his helmet from his heade, (for so it was the custom to speake vnto y king) they began to require him that he would vtter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenon began on this wise.

The Goddes defend our mündes from all wrycked thoughts

thoughtes, as I doubt not but they will: there are none of your souldiers, but of the same mynd towards you, that they haue beeene in times past, whether it bee your pleasure to commaund them to fight, and to hazard themselves, or with their bloud commend theyz name vnto the posterite. And if you will nedes per-
suere and go forwardes in your determination, though Woe bee vnarmed, naked, and without bloud, Woe wyl-
eyther come after you, or go before, as you shall thynte
expedient: But if you will bee contente to heare your
souldiers grieses, and complayntes that be not fayned,
but expressed by force of verie necessite, I humbly beseech you then, that you will bouchsafe fauourably to
heare them, that constantly haue followed your autho-
ritie and fortune, and are yet readie to followe where-
soever you will appoint. O Alexander, with the great-
nes of your actes yee haue not overcome onely your e-
nemis, but also vs your owne souldiers. What-
socuer mannes mortalitic is able to fulfill, that is per-
foured by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, and
Countreyes, better knowne to vs then to the very in-
habitours thereof, now remayning in maner in the vt-
ternost ende of the worlde. And yet for all this your
purpose is to passe into an other worlde, and sake out
an India vknowne to the Indians. Yee couette to
plucke out the wilde beastes, and serpents out of their
dennes and lurking places, mynding to search furt her
with your victorie, then the Sunne hath blystid with
his beames, which truely is an imagination meete for
the greatness of your heart, but farre exceeding our ca-
pacitie & power. Your manhood and courage i: alwaies
in encrease, but our force groweth in declination. Be-
hold our bodies destitute of bloud, pierced with so ma-
ny wounds & rotted with so many sharres. Our wea-
pons now be dulled, and our armour is wasted, & con-
sumed: Wee weare our apparaile after the Persianes
manner, because our countrey garmentes doe fayle vs,
wee are degenerate out of our owne fashion, & growne
into a strange habite. What is haue that hath his corse-
let, or herte particular to himselfe? Cause it to be en-
quyred howe many remaine amongst vs, and what
remai-

The ninth booke

remaineth to every man of the spoile. Being the victors of all men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not abundance nor exesse that troubleth vs, but the verie warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet you meane to put forth this godly armye of yours naked vnto those beastes: The multitude of whom though the Indians purposely do increase, yet of their bayne report we may perceiue the number to be great. But if yee bee biterly determined to passe yet further into India, the countrey that lyeth Southward is not so desert as the other, which beeing subdued, ye may passe to that Sea, which nature hath appoynted to abound in the world. Why doe you seeke that glorie a farre off, which remaineth to you ready at your hande: Here the Ocean Sea doth meete vs: and except your mind be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate vnto vs. I had rather speake these thinges before you, then behind your backe: for I seeke not to winne fauour of the men of war that stand here about me, but desire you shold rather heare their minds expressed in plain wordes, then to heare their griefe and their grudge vttered in muttering and in murmur.

When Cenon had made an end of his tale, there rose a crie and lamentation, which wyth confused voices euerie where called Alexander theyr father, and theyr Lorde. Then the other Capitaines (and specially the elders, which by reason of their age had the moxe honest excuse, and greater authoritie) made the like request, so that the king was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacie, nor mittigate them being so incoued. Therefore vncerteine what to do, he leapt from the iudgement place, & commanding his lodging to be shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his person. Two daies he consumed in his anger, and the

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thyrd day he came forth amongst his men, caus sing 12 Altars of square stone there to bee sette vp, as a monument of his iourney, & wylled the trenches of his campe to be made wyder, & the places where the souldiers laye to bee enlarged greater, then serued for the bignes of their bodies: thinking by the forme and shape of things thus increased, to leauue a deceiptfull wonder vnto his posse ritie. From thence he returned againe by the way he had passed before, & encamped vpon the ryuer of Acesines: Cenon chanced there to die, whose death the king lamented: but yet he said that for so few daies he had made ouer long an Oration: as though he alone shoulde haue returned into Macedon. By that tyme the Paue of shippes which he had appointed to bee made, stode in readines asole: and Nemnon in the meane season brought him out of Thrace a supply of six thousand horsemen, and besides fro Harpalus seuen thousand footemen, with twentie ffe thousande armours that were wrought with siluer and golde, which hee distributed amongst his men, and commaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe vnto the Ocean sea with a thousand shippes. But before his departure, hee reconciled togither by affinitie Porus, and Taxiles, betwixt whom there was a newe discorde risen vpon theyr olde hatredes. Hee had obtainede of them great aide in the making and furnishing of his Paue. During the lime hee was about that busynesse, hee builded

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therre two Cities : wherof he called the one ~~Ab~~^{Ab}cea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was deade. He gaue order that his Elephants and carriage should passe by land, and he sayled downe the riuer, proceeding euerie day about xl.furlonges, so that he might euer lande his power in such places as he thought conuenient. At length he came into a countrey whereas the Riuer of Hidaspis and Acesines do ioin togither, and do run from thence into the boundes of a nation called Sogions. They declared y^e their predecessors came of Hercules army, which being left there sick, inhabited the countrey. They were clothed in beastes skinnes, vsing clubs for they^r weapons: and though they had lefste the customes of the Greeks, yet there appeared many things among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Here the king landed and marched two hundred and ten furlongs within the countrey, which hee wasted: and tooke the chiefeſt Cittie in the same. There were fortie thousand men that stood in defence against him upon a Riuers ſide, but he paſſed the water, putting them vnto flight, and after they fled into the Cittie, he wan it by force. The children were ſlaine, and the rest tolde as ſlaves. He assaulted another Cittie, where hee was repulſed with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitants ſaw that he continued ſtill the ſiege, diſpeyzyng of their ſauegard, they

ſet fire on their houses, and burned themſelues, they^r wifes and their chyldren. Which ſire when the Macedons quenched, and they kindeled the ſame agayne, it ſeemed a ſtraunge conſtention, the Citizens to deſtroy they^r owne Cittie, they^r enemies labouring to ſave it: y^e wars ſo contrariouſly chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The Castle was ſaved, wher in a guarriſon was leſt. Alexander went about this Castle by wafer, which was enuyzoned w^t three of the greatest Rivers in all India, Ganges except, Indus paſſing vpon the North ſide, & Acesines running into Hidaspis vpon y^e South. Where theſe Rivers met, the wave roſe lyke ſurges of the ſea, being full of muſſe and filth, whiche by the course of the water were dryuen vnto the ſides: for al that the Rivers are broad yet the chanels are but narrow, wherin y^e ſhippes muſt paſſe. The waves did riſe ſo high and thycke, breaking ſometime vpon the puppes of the ſhippes, and ſometime vpon the one ſide, that the ſhippemen began to baile they^r ſayles. But they were ſo troubled with feare, and the violeſt ſwiftnes of the ſreame, that they could not order their tackling, ſo that two of the greateſt ſhippes were drowned within ſight: And the ſmaller veſſels which were as vnable to bee gouerned, were dryuen vpon the ſhore wothout any harme. The king chaunced vppon the place whereas the waves went highest, wherewith his ſhip was ſo tolled and trauerſed, that

the helme could not direct his course. Wherfore the king doubting of drowning , pulled of hys garment ready to caste himselfe into the water, and his frendes did swim neere thereabout ready to receiue him, it appéaring to him doubtfull, which perill was greatest,either to swim, or to continue still aboord. But the Mariners laboured wonderfully with their oares, adding al the force þ lay in mans power through the waues, by whose importunate trauaile , the water seemed to deuide asunder, and to giue place : so that at length they haled out of the surges, and yet not able to bring the shipp to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appéaring that þ ships and the streame had fought a battaile together. Alexander hauing escaped this perill , set vp to euerie Riuier an altar, whereupon he offred due sacrifice, and that doone, past forwardes xxx fur longs. From thence he came into the countrey of the Sudricans and Mallians, which accusst med to be at warre amongst themselues : then for their owne defence ioined in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of ix. M. footmen, x. M. horsemen, and ix. C. armed waggons, wherof when the Macedons were aduertised, which beleued that they had passed all perilles, seeing a fresh warre arise, with a new fierce nation, were amazed with a sodeine feare, and began againe w seditious words to reprooue their king. They alledged that he would lately haue
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compelled them to passe the Riuier of Ganges, for to make warre vpon those nations lying beyonde þ same : which enterprise though it were leste, they had not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a newe labour, being put forth amongst these wilde nations, to make the Oceane sea open to him with their bloud, and to be drawne beyonde the sunne and the starres. They were compellid (they saide) to visite those places, which nature coueted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armour, there were newe enemies rayled vp, whome if they shoulde vanquish and put to flight , they could not see what benefite they should receive there by, but onely darknes and obscuritie of the ayre, which alwaies couered the deepe sea, replenished with multitude of monsters , swallowing in those immouable waters, wheras nature decay ing, she failed of her force. The king litle moued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled wyth those passions of his souldiers. Wherfore he assembled them altogether , declaring of how seable a force those nations were, whome they feared so much which onely remained, & were impediment vnto them(having passed ouer so many countreys)to attaine both to the full of theyr trauaile, and to the ende of the world. He shewed how that in respect of theyr former feare, hee had leſt his enterprise ouer Ganges, with þ con queſt of the nations inhabiting beyond þ same,

and had directed his journey this way, whereas their glorie shold be as great, and theyz peryll much lesse, and wherein they had not farre to frauale, seeing the Ocean was in maner wþt-
in sight: the ayre wherof he felt blowing in hys face. He required them therfore that they would not envy the glorie he had sought by passing the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, seeing that with so little paine they might gine unto theyz king perpetuall fame & immortalitie. In doing whereof they shold depart out of India as victouers, whereas otherwise they shold seem to fly away from thence. It is the propertie of cue-
ris multitude, and specially of men of warre, to be drawne with euerie litle motion: amongst whom, as sedition doth soone arise, so it is soone pacified. There was never a more chearefull cry made of any army before, then the souldiers then made vnto Alexander, which willed hym to leade them whither soever hee woudl, and make hymselfe equall in glorie to them, whose actes he did counterfeite. Alexander reioycing in the willingnes that appeared in them, remoued straightwates towardes his enemies, that were the stoutest people of the Indians. They prepared themselves stoutly for the warres, and chose for their Capitaine one of the Oridracans that was of an approued manhood: Who encamping at the feit of a mountaine, made fyres all abroade, to cause his number to appeare the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the
G. 3.

Macedons when they were in rest, by making of Alarms, with their cries & maner of howling. When the day appeced, Alexander having all assured trust to win the victorie, commaunded the souldiers to put on their armour, and cheerfully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians, (whether it were for feare, or by reason of some sedition risen amongst them) sodeinly fled into the desert mountaines, whom Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, tooke theyz cartage. After this he came to a Cittie of the Oridracans, whereunto a great number were fled, as well in trist of the strength of the place, as of their owne powre. As Alexander was about to make the approach, Demophō his diuiner admonished him, that he shold either deser the matter, or els not meddle with it at all: for that there appeced signs that his life shold bee in perill. When Alexander had heard his wordes, he beheld him and said.

If any man shuld interrupt thee when thou art busie about thy science, or considering of the entrails: shold not he serue vnto thee troublous and his comming ungrateful? Yes truly (quoth he.) So art y now vnto me (quoth Alexander,) for having matters in hande of more moment then y entrails of beasts: I find no greater impediment then a superstitious diuiner. And as soone as he had spoke y word, he caused them to reare vp ladders, & whilst others sticke & staid at the matter, he mounted vp the wall.

The same was very narrowe in the toppe, not with loopes (as is commonly vsed) but enclosed with one whole & continuall battlement rounde about, which caused it to bee the more harde to scale. Alexander therfore having no conuenient roome to stande at his defence, stayed vpon the wall, receyving vpon his target, the darts that were cast at him from all partes. His souldiers coulde not get vnto him : they were so beaten from the walles by the multitude of shotte that came from aboue. Yet at length when by theyr stayng they sawe theyr king giuen vp into the enemies handes, shame ouercame theyr imminent daunger. But theyr ouer much haste was too great a lette, and the cause why they coulde not come to the rescue of theyr kyng. For whildest every man coueted to get vp vnto ladders, they were so soze laden, that they brake asunder, and such as were mounted vpon them fell downe againe, deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: so that in the sight of all the army, hee stode destitute as in a deserte, without anye ayde or succour, and had wearyed his left arme (with the which he helde his Target) in receyving the blowes. His frendes cryed vnto him vnto he should leape downe vnto them, who stode in a readines to receyue him. But hee giuing no eare vnto them, vnderooke an incredible enterprize, and such a one as hath not been heard of before, deseruing rather fame of rashnesse, then of any commendation that might sound to his glorie.

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For with a full leape he did cast himselfe into the Citie hat was full of his enemies, whereas he could scarcely haue any hope to fight for his life, or in dying to bee reuenged vpon his enemys. For before he could recover his feete agayne, it was likely eyther he shold haue beene slaine, or taken alyue. But hee by chaunce so conuiced hys bodie, that he fel vpon his feete, and stan ding, encountrred with such as came against him: Fortune so prouiding, that hee could not be enclosed about, by reason of an old tree, which (as it had beene of purpose) stode neere vnto the wall, whose broade boughes full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatnessse of the stocke kept his enemies from comming on hys backe, and vpon the forefront he receyued the dartes that were cast against him with his target. For though there were never so many that contended with him from a far off, yet durst no man there come neere vnto him: & the boughes kept off the arrows and the darts so well as his target did. In this extremitie the greatness of Alexander's fame, chiefely fought for him, & nexte desperation: a great encouragement for a man to die honestly. At length through the multitude of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his target was laden with shotte, his helmet was broken with stones, and his legges saynted and fayled vnder him, by continual trauyle: Which thing when his enemies per ceyued, they tolke lesse regarde to them selues,

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and drew more neare him, of whom he received two with his sworde, in such sort, that they fell sowne dead at his feete. And from that time forwardes none was so bolde to approch againe so neare him, but thē in darget, and shotte arrowes at hym a farre off. He lay open to euerie mans blow: and yet (though it were with great pain) dwelt in himselfe vpon his knees, vntill such time as an Indian shot an arrowe at hym that was two cubits long, which a litle aboue hys right thigh passed through his corslet: By reason of that wound he shed so much bloud, that he let his sworde fal, as one at the point of death. And therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to plucke out the arrowe. Then the Indian which had hurt him, came with great joy to spoile his bodie. But when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon him: moued (as it is to be thought) with despite, to receive an infamie to that extremitie, called again his spirits that were passing away, and with his sworde thrust his enemy (being unarmed) through the bodie. When hee had thus slaine two of his enemies which lay deade before him, all the reste stode amazed a far of. Then Alexander, desirous before his last breath shoulde faile to bee kylled fighting, began to rayse his bodie upon his feete: But his strength wold not serue hym thereto, and therefore reached at a bough that hung over his head, coueting thereby to haue raysed vp himselfe.

But

But his power not suffising thereunto, hee fell downe againe vpon his knees, and by a signe made with his hande, challenged his enemies, if any of them durst come and match with him. At the last Peucestes repulsing his enemis vpon another part of the Citie, got into y towne, and coasting along the walles, came vnto the place where the king was. When Alexander espied him, though he had no hope to live, yet he tooke his comming for a comfort to his death, & for all his feblenes began to reare vp himselfe. Then came Tineus, and within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonius. When it was once published amongst the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, they lefte their defence in other places, and came flocking thither, whereas they fiercely assailed such as stode at defence of the kings person. Tineus, after that he had fought notably, and receyued many woundes, was there slaine. Peucestes also notwithstanding that hee was striken and wounded with their dargets, yet with his target he defended y kings person, without any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus, whilist he resisted the Indians, that eagerly pressed vpon Alexander, received so sore a stripe vpon the necke, that he fell downe in a sowne at the kings feete. By y time Peucestes became so feeble of his woldes that he was not able to defend hym any more. The last hope and refuge remayned in Aristonius, who also was so greevouslie wounded,

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that he could endure any longer the force of the Indians. In the meane season the fame was spread amongst the Macedons, that their king was slaine: which beeing a matter that shoulde haue put others in feare, stirred vp their hartes, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards, ther was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured to the wall, & breaching downe the same with pickares, entered at the breach, making slaughter of their enemies, of whom few stode at defence, but fledde away. There was neyther man nor woman spared, olde nor young. For they met none, but they judged him to be the person that had slayn their king, and so at length with the murder of y mul titude their iust yre was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagines doe write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwardes became king of Egyp, was present in this encounter. But hee himselfe, that vsed not to denie any thing that stood with his owne glorie, did put in memorie howe that he was then absent, sent about another enter prise. Such a negligēce was in them y did write the antiquities of thinges, or els an ouer much credulitie, which is a fault no lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgeons cutte of the stalle of the shaft in such wise, that they moued not the head that was within the flesh. And when they saue the wound bare, they perceived hookes to bee within the arrowe heade, so that without

the

the destruction of his body, it could not be pul led out, except by incision they made the wound greater: And yet in that point they feared least abundance of bloud should be impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it seemed to be entred farre within his body. There was one Critobulus that was very cunning & most excellent amongst the Phisitions & Surgeons, and yet in so dangerous matter as this, he was fearefull and in doubt to set too hys handes, least if any thing should chaunce to the king otherwise then well, whilst he remayned in this cure, y blame might light vpō his heade. Therefore when Alexander perceyued by his weepynge the feare he was in, and that through trouble of mynde, he looked pale in the face, said vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why doest thou stay in riddynge of mee quickly out of this payne, at the least wayes by death, if thou canst not otherwise byynge it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why doest thou feare that any thing should be layd vnto thy charge?

When Critobulus heard his wordes, he either ceased or dissimuled his feare, and exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himselfe to bee holden whilst they pulled out the arrowe head that was within his flesh, for the least motion (he said) might be hurtfull unto him. The king would not be holden, but held his body at a stay without moving, in such sort as they appoynted him. When they had cut the wound wider,

and

and pulled out the head, there issued such a boounce of bloud, that the king fell in a swoune, & a dumme came ouer his sight, he stretched out himselfe, as one in the pangs of death. Then they wrought all the means they could, to stanch the bloud, but when they perceiued it would not auale, his friends began to cry out and lament, thinking verily that there had been no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recovering agayne his spirits, began to know them that stode about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of warre stood in armes about the kings lodging, confessing that al their liues depended vpon his breath, and would not remoue from thence, before they understood that he tooke some rest. But when they knew that he was fallen on sleepe, they returned into the campe, bringing unto the rest more certaine hope of his recovery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there 7. dayes, and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spred abroad amongst the Indians, he caused two shippes to bee fastened together, and a lodging to be made for hym in the midis : so that remayning vpon the wafer, he might be scene from both sides of the land of them that thought he had beeene dead. Whether the countrey men by the view of him perceived he was on liue, they tooke away the hope that some had conceiued vpon the false report. From thence he passed downe the stremme, leauyng a

distance betwene his ship, and the rest of the nauy, to the intent that with the beating of the oares, they shold not disturbe hym of hys rest which was necessary for his weake body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a countrey abandoned of the inhabifers, but yet plentiful both of corne and cattel, in which place he thought expedient both to rest himselfe, and his scouldours. It was a custome amongst the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiese Princes and the great men watched about his lodging: Which maner beyng then obserued, they entered all together into the chamber where Alexander laye: at whose sodaine commynge hee was somewhat amazed, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought hym some straunge tidinges, and enquired of them if they vnderstoode of any new assembly of his enemies. Then Craterus which was appointed to speake in the behalfe of them all, said to him after this maner.

Do you thinke that the comming of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entered within your campe) as we be of your health and safegard, for of all that it is a thing whiche you regard least? Though all nations doe conspire agaynst vs with their power, though the whole vniversal world were filled full of men of warre, the Seas ouerspred wyth Shippes, and never so many strange beastes brought agaynst vs, it consteth in the moment of your person to make vs victors. But howe can any God promise, that you, whiche is the light and shinyng Starre of Macedonia, can bee of any continuance? Saying that you bee so desirous to put your persone in

The ninth booke

in such manifest perils, not remēbring that with your
death you drawe with you into ruine, the liues of so
many of your countrymen? What is he that either car-
oʒ doeth desire to live after you? We are come so farre
forth following your fortune and authoritie, that with-
out you, none of vs is able to returne home agayne. If
ye were yet contending with Darius for the kingdom
of Persia, though we all would wish that you would
not aduenture your person so perilously, yet in that
case we could not meruail so much at your prompt au-
dacie : for where the danger and the benefite that en-
sueth thereof is equall, there the fruite is the greater,
when the matter succeedeth well, and the comfort is
the more, when the thing chanceth euill. There is no
man, not onely of vs that be your souldours, but euen
of such as were your enemies, hauing any vnderstan-
ding of your greatnessse, that can suffer so base a towne,
and of so little fame, bee bought with the price of your
lyfe. My heart shinkes at the remembrance of the
thing, which we but late did see with our eyes. I am
amazed to rehearse, how those vile handes were in a
readinesse to haue carted the spoiles of your invincible
person, if fortune of her mercy had not preserued and
delivered you from their crueltie. So many of vs as
were not able to follow you, were all traitors and for-
sakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter
that lay not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs
all with reproche, yet there is none that will refuse a-
ny punishment in the purgation of the matter. Not-
withstanding we would require you that you would
spare vs for some other purpose. We will gladly goe
whither so euer ye will haue vs : we require warre
be it never so obscure, and couet the battell though our
fighting shall want fame, so that you wil reserue your
selfe to those hazardes which be mæte for the greatness
of your estate. How seone doth glory vanishe away and
become of no prayse amongst such enemies as be of no
reputation? And what thyng is there more uiwor-
thy, then to consume the glory that ye haue gotten else
where amongst them, wheresoe your glory can not
appere?

When

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholo-
me and the other spake to him in like effect, and
required him all at once with weeping eyes,
that he would not from thenceforth bee any
more so thirstie to winne prayse, but seyng hee
had got sufficient alredy, he shold content hym
selfe therewithall, and regard his health & safe-
gard, whercupon their binnerfall estate did de-
pend. The king tooke so gratefully their louyng
affection, that he familiarly embraced euery
one of them, and after he had willed them to sit,
repeating more deepeley their former communica-
tion, he said thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friendes and countreymen, I
give and render to you my harty thanks, not onely for
that ye preferre my sauergard before your owne, but al-
so for that since the beginning of the warres, ye haue
not pretermitted any thing wherin your loue and be-
neuolence might be shewed towardes me : so that I
must confesse that my life was neuer so deare as it is
now, because I desire long to enjoy you. You be desi-
raus to offer your selues to death in my quarel, because
you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at
your handes. But your imagination and myne, is not
after one sort. You peraduenture doe couet continual-
ly to enjoy me, and to take of me continuall fruit. And
I measure not my selfe by the continuance of my tyme,
but by the greatnessse of my glory. I might haue bee[n]
content with the riches my fater left me, and with
rest of my body haue loked for with the boundes of
Macedon, an age obscure and without any fame. And
yet I cannot see that they which liue in slouth & idle-
nes, can assure themselves of their owne destinie. For
euen such as esteeme felicitie in long life, be oftentimes
presented with sodaine death. But I which number
not my peers, but my victories, haue liued long if I
will waigh the giftes of fortune. For beginning mine

Empire

Empire Macedonia, I haue Greece in myne owne handes, I haue subdued Thrace and the Illyrians: I reigned over the Trybals and the Medianes, posselling all Asia that lieth betwixt Hellepont and the red sea, and now am not farre from the ende of the wold, the whiche I determined to visite, and to make open to me a new nature, and a new world. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and being but xviii.yeres olde, and hauing reigned but nine, am become victor of both regions. Dost thou thinke it then mette that I shold now cease from winnyng of that glory, whereunto I haue onely addit my selfe? No, I will never cease: but wheresoever I shall haue occasion to fight, I shal think my selfe to be in the Theas ter, where the whole wold doth behold mee. I will gue nobilitie and fame to places that be obscure. And will lay open to all nations those countreyes that nature hath remoued furthest from them: In doyng whereof it shall be gratafull for me to ende my lyfe, if Fortune will haue it so. I am come of such a stocke, that I ought to desire many thinges before long lyfe. I pray you to remembre that we come into those countreyes where the name of a woman is much celebrazed for her vertues. What cities did Semiramis bulde? What nations did she subdue? and what great woxkes did she accomplish? We are not yet become equall to a woman in glory, and yet you would haue mee to be fassified of laud. The Gods be favourable unto our purpose: for there remaine for vs yet greater thinges to doe. And it is the next way to make those countreyes which we haue not yet touched, to become ours, if we esteem nothing to be of small value, where as there is any occasion to winne glory. Let it be your care only to preserue me from civil conspiracie and treason of myne owne people, and then there be no aduentures in the warre shall put me in feare. Phillip was moze sure in the front of the battell abroad, then when he was in quiete at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies: but he could not eschew the violence of his owne subiectes. And if you consider the ende of other kinges you shall count moze that haue beene slaine by

by their owne men, then by any forreine power. But because there is an occasion now ouerred mee to bter the thing I haue long conceiued in my mynd: it shall be the greatest traite I can receive of my actes and my trauels, if my mother Olympias, when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortallitie. If shee depart in my tyme, I will do the thing my selfe. But if I shall be prevented by death, remember you to per-
sonke that I haue determined.

And thereupon he dismissed his friends from him, and continued many dayes in the same place. Whiles these thinges were a doyng in India, the Greeke souldours that had land and habitation appointed them at Catabactra, thow a sedition that chaunced amongst them, rebelled against him: Not so much for any ha-
tred they bare him, as for feare of punishment. For they killed diuers of their chiefe Rulers, and assembling in force together, tooke the ca-
stle of Bactria that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them.

Athenodorus was the chiefe amongst them, who tooke vpon hym the name of a kyng, not so much for the desire he had to the kyngdomme, as by authoritie to make hymselfe of power to conuey himselfe and others home into his owne countrey. But one Bicon of his owne nation became his bter enemy, and conspiryng agaynst him, did bid him to a banquet, wherc he was slaine by one Borus Macedonius.

The nexte day following, Bicon assen-
bled the Greekes together, persuadynge them
that he new Athenodorus but in hys owne
presence,

defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there were some that perceyued his pollcie, and suspition was spred amongst the rest, so that the Greekes fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiese, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contraray to his expectation was deliuered from that present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against them that sauod his life, whose falsehood known, they tooke both him and Borus, determining that Borus shold be put to death out of hand, and that Bicon shold ende his life by tormentes. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke souldours sodainly in a fury (for what cause it is vncertaine) ranne to armes, the noise of whom beyng heard with them that had the charge of Bicon, did let him at liberty, fearing that the rumour had bene made for his deliuerie. He as he was naked came running amongst y^e Greeks where as they were assembled: Whose miserabile estate so sodainly changed their mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at liberty. By this meanes Bicon beyng twise deliuered from death, returned into his countrey with the Greekes, leauing the colonie whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These thinges were done in the confines of Bactria and Scithia. In the meane season the king of the two nations which we speake of before, sent an hundred Embassadours unto Alexander, which beyng men

of personages, rode in wagons seemely apparelled, hauing garments of linnen cloth embrode red with golde and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their comming was to yelde themselves, their Citie, their countrey, and their libertie (which they had kept inuoluntarily by so manie ages) to his wil and appointment. Of which theyz submission, the Goddes (they saide) were authoress, and not any feare: for they were contented to yelde themselves before they had prooued theyz power with him. The king called a councell, and received them vnder his protection, appointing them to pay such trybute as they before payed to the Arachosians. And besides, to sende two thousand five hundred horsemen to serue him in his warres: all which things they performed obediently. This done, he made a great feast, whereto hee invited Embassadors, and his Lordes. He vsed therein great preparation, ordeining a hundred beds of golde to eate vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drawne about with curtaines garnished with golde and purple. In that feast ther was shewed and set forth all the excesse and voluptuousnes, which eyther by long custome was vsed among the Persians, or by corruption of theyz olde usages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations beeing there mingled & mixed togither. There was at that feast one Diortippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of hys excellent

cellent force well knowne vnto the king, whom certaine envious and malitious persons, betwixt earnest and pastime did reprooue, that he was ginen to fat his bodie as an unprofitable beast: And when that other went to the battaile, hee would annoynte his bodie with oyle, and prepare himselfe to eate. Amongst other that vsed wordes of desperte against him, there was at y same feast one Horratas a Macedon, who in his dyon kenesse challenged Diorippus, that if he were a man, hee shoulde fyght the campe with hym the next day vppon life and death, whereas the king shoulde iudge eyther him to be rash, or the other too much a dastard. Diorippus then laughing to skorne the pryde and arrogancie of this souldier, accepted his proffer. The nexte day they were more earnest to go to the Combatte, then they were before in making of the chalenge: therefore when the king sawe them so bent, and that they would not leauethey: purpose, hee consented to their will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat amongst whome there were many Grecians, which fauoured Diorippus part. The Macedon came into the listes armed at all peeces, holding in his left hande an Iron buckler and a speare, and in his right hande a casting launce, and having his sword besides girfe to his side, was furnished as though he shoulde haue fought with many men at once. Diorippus came foorth annoynted with oyle, wyth a garlande vpon ^{his}

his heade, and having a redhe cloth wrapte about his left arme, held in his right hand a knot tie cudgell. The diuersitie of they: furnishementes brought euerie man into a wonderfull expection.

For they could not thinke it onely a rashnes, but a madnes, for Diorippus that was naked, to match with the other that was arm'd. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they should come to hand stripes, threw at hym his launce, which Diorippus avoided with bending of his body, and before that he could charge his pyke he leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, he began to draws his sword; but Diorippus prevented him with a close, and taking both his feete from vnder hym threw him to the earth, and there plucking hys sworde from him, set his foote upon his necke, & held vp his cudgell to haue strike out his braine if the king had not caused him to stay his hande. This triumph ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander himselfe: specially because this thing was done in the Indianes presence: fearing least the valiantrie of the Macedons, famed so much in the world, might thereby come into contempt. Whereupon Alexander grudging at Diorippus, bare his ears open to the accusation of the envious. They within a few daies after had caused a golden cup to be purposely conueied out of y way;

G. G. which

which the ministers hauing imbesled, made complaint unto Alexander of the losse thereof. At times men shewesse constancie in countenance, then in the offence it selfe. For in theyr complaint Diorippus perceiued by their lookes, that they noted him as thiese, which he coulde not endure, but parting out of the feast (after he had written a letter to the king) hee killed hymselfe. Alexander was very sorie for his death: which he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignation. For afterwardes it appeared by the ouer much rejoicing of his enemyes, that he had beene falsly accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a fewe daies after returned againe, presenting unto Alexander three hundred horses, a thousand and thrytie wagons, euerie one drawn with fourre horses, certeine vestures of linnen cloth, a thousand Indian targets, and one hundred calentes of white yron, both Lyons of rare bignes, and Tigers that were made tame, the skinnes of great llyzards, and the shelles of certeine fishes. The king then commaunded Craterus to conduce his armye along the Ryuer: whereupon he sayled, and embarking such as were wont to accompany him, with the stream passed into the boundes of the Mallians, and fro thence came unto the Sabracans, which was a nation of great power, not ruled by kinges, but by a gouernement of the people. They had gathered together three thousand footmen, and sixe thousand horsemen, & two hundred and ten wagons, and had chosen three Captaines, and a hundred approued men of warre. But when such as inhabited next unto the Riuere (the bankes beeing full of villages) saw all the Riuere so far as they could view, overspread with shippes, and the armour glistering of so many men of war, they were amazed with the straungenes of the sight, and thought that some army of the Gods, or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amongest those nations) had beeene come amongst them.

show

The cry of the men of warre, with the clashing of the oares, and the straunge noise of the Mariners, exhorting one another, fylled ful their fearfull eares. They ranne therefore amongst theyr countrey men which had assembled their force, declaring theyr madnes if they would contende with Gods. For they saide the shippes could not be numbered that carayd those invincible people: with which words they put such scare amongst the men of war of their owne nation, that they sent immediately Embassadours to pacifie themselves. When he had receiued their aduertisement, hee came the fourth day into another country, the people wherof durst no mane withstande him, then the rest did: and therethis bullded a Citie which he named Alexanderia: & fro thence entered into a countrey, the inhabitants whereof be called Muscaians. Where he understood by the accusation of the Paromitanes, that Descrioles (whome Alexander had appointed Lieutenants

G.g.ij. tenant

The ninth booke

tenant amongst them) had ruled in excessiue pride and couetousnes, and therefore commauded him to be put to death. And Driatres lieue, tenant of the Bactrians being also accused, was not only acquitted, but also had a great rule committed unto him. When he had subdued the vttermost parts of the Musicians, he put a garrisō in their Citie, and went from thence to another nation of the Indians called Prestians, of who Dricanus was king, which with a great power got himselfe into a strong Citie, which Alexander wan the thirde day after he began his siege. Upon the taking of the towne, Dricanus fledde into the Castle, and sent Embassadors to treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexander's presence, two towers of the Castle fell with a great crash, by the ruine wherof the Macedons gotte into the Castle, where Dricanus, which with a fewe more stode at defence, was slaine, the Castle being raised, and all that were within soldē as slaves. Alexander came into the bounds of Haba, where besides many holdes yielded unto him, he tooke the strongest Citie of that cuntry by force of a myne. It seemed a stroous thing unto the Indians (being ignorant of such policies of war) for armed men to come forth of the ground in the midst of their Citie, whereas there appereſ before no ſigne of any way vnder the earth.

Clytarchus doth write, that there were four score thousand Indians ſlaine in that country, besides

of Quintus Curtius.

besides many prisoners ſold as ſlaves. The Musicians in the mean time rebelled, for the oppreſſion of whome Phiton was ſent thither: who tooke the Prince of that nation prisoner, and brought him to Alexander, whome he cauſed to be hanged vpon a crosse as the authoř of the reuolte, which done, he returned again to the Riuuer whereas he had willed his Paue to tary for him. The fourth day after paſſing downe the ſtreame, he came to a towne at the entrie of the kingdome of Samus: The king wherof had newly yeelded hymſelfe, but the Citizens shutte their gates, and would not be at commaundement: Whose ſmall number Alexander regarded ſo little, that he ſent ſixe hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer them the ſkirmiſh, to the intent that retyng by little and little, they might drawe them out of their ſtrength: thinking that they would follow in the chafe, when they ſhould ſee their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backs, and the Indians followed them till they came to the ambuſhment, whereas the king lay. Then the Agrians turned, & the fight was renewed againe, ſo that of three thouſande Indians, there were fine hundred ſlaine, and a thouſand taken, the rest recovered againe the Citie. But the end of þ victorie was not ſo pleauant, as it appeared in the beginning: for the Indians had ſo emuenomed theyr ſwordes,

G.iiij. that

that such as were hurt, died of their woundes. And the phisitions could not devise the cause of so strange a death: for euен the very light hurts were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander through his rashnes might haue come within that daunger, which by chaunce fighting amongst the thickest, escaped vnhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon his left shoul-
der: who being in greater danger, then y great-
nes of his wound shewed, caused the king to bee carefull of him. For he was neere of his kin, and as some thought Philip was his father: but it is certeine that his mother was Philips concu-
bine. He was one of them that had the charge of the kinges person, a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. Hee was moderate both in his apparaile and living: liberall, easie to be spoken to, and without anie such height of mind, as is wont to be descended of bloud royall: by reason of which qualities, it is vncerteine whether hee was better beloved with the king, or with y rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue how the minds of men were affectionate towardes him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to di-
vine of his fortune, wherunto afterwards he as-
cended. They had no lelle care of Ptholomeus, then of the king himselfe: who vsed him so fa-
miliarly, that when he was veried cyther with traueil or care of minde, would sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: and at that time caused his bed

bed to be brought into his owne chamber. Whē Ptholomeus was laid there, he fell sodainely in a profound sleepe, in the which it seemed that a dragon offred to him an herbe out of his mouth for the healing of his wounde, and taking away of his venime. When he awaked, he declared his dreame, and shewed both the colour and fa-
shion of the herbe, affirming that he could know it, if any man could find it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, y paine streight waies ceased, and the skarre within short space was closed. When the Indians were disappoin-
ted of y hope they had conceiued that way, they yelded themselves and their Citie. From thence Alexander went into the next countrey called Pathalia, the king whereof called Meris, lefte the Citie, and fled into the mountaines: so that Alexander tooke the same, and destroied all the countrey, finding both a wonderfull pray of sheepe, of cattel, and of corne. There he tooke Pi-
lots that knew the Riuers, and came vnto an I-
land which stode in the middest of the streame, where hee was compelled to remaine the lon-
ger, because the Pilots being negligently kepte, were escaped away. He sent therefore to seeke out other: but when he could finde none, there entred a vehement desire into his head, to visite without any guide the Ocean sea, and the ende of the worlde, committing his owne life, and the life of so many thousands, to a Riuer which none

none of them did knowe. They sayled as men ignorant of all places they came vnto : eyther howe farre the Sea was distaunt from them, what nations did inhabite the cuntreys thereabout, or whether the mouth of the Riuier were nauigable for Galleys or no. In all these things they were ledde by a blinde and doubtfull imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterprise, but onely that they trusted to theyr continuall felicitie. When they had gone forwards four hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters tolde the king that they felte the ayre of the sea: wherby they knew that the Ocean was at hand. Therat he rejoiced greatly, and exhorted y maniners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their Dres to bring him to the sight of the ende of the world, which he had so long desired.

Nowe (quoth hee) our glorie is perfect, when our manhoode is such that nothing can stay vs: Nowe the world is come into our hands, without any further hazard of warre, or shedding of bloud. Nowe since the bounds that nature hath wrought be so neare at hand, we shal shortly see things vñknown sauing to the immortall Gods.

Pet notwithstanding hee set certeine vpon lande to take some of the countrey men, by whō he trusted to haue knowne more certaintie of the truth. When they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certeine that were hidden: Which beeing demaunded how farre the Sea was from them, they made aunswere that

they

they never heard it named, but they said that within three dayes sailing they should come vnto a place, wheras a brackish water did corrupt the fresh: By which wordes the mariners vnderstoode that they ment the Sea, of the nature whereof the people were ignoraunt. Then the Mariners rowed chearefully: their desire growing euer the greater, as they approachēd neare vnto the place, which they hoped to be the ende of their trouaile. The thirde day they came wher the Sea and the Riuier ioyned togither, mixing with a small floud their waters that were of a contrary nature.

Then because the tyde was somwhat agaist them, they haled towards another Iland standing in the midst of the riuier, which beeing an easie place to land at, the Macedons ranne about to seek victuals, in surety (as they thought) beeing ignoraunt of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde houre (according to the ordinary course) the tyde came from the Sea, and with his force did dryue the stremme backewardes, which at the first beeing but stayed, was afterwardes so vehemently repulset, that it caused the water to returne backeward with greater furye then any swifte stremme is wont to runne. The common sort that knewe not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to bee a wonderfull matter, and that it had beeene a token sent to them for the Goddes wrath: and whylest they were in that imagination, the

Sea

Sea swelling more and more, overflowed the lande which they sawe before dyre: and as the water rose, the shippes mounted, and aliy Pa-
nye was disperckled here and there. Such as were upon the lande were amazed with the so-
lemnies of the thing, and ran from all partes in great feare unto their shippes. But in a tumult halfe doth hurt, and giueth impediment. Some there were that went about to set their shippes forwardes: other forbade rowing, and remoued not at all. Otherwhiles they made hast away, & would not tary to take in theyz compانie, moued unaptly, and could make no way. Some, when they sawe them presse a shipboard in such thronges, for feare of taking in too many, would receiue none at all: So that both multitude and small number, was a let unto y halfe they made. The crie that some made in bidding men tarie, and the noise that other made willing them to go forwardes, with theyz voices that differed, & agreed not in one effect, take away the vse both of theyz sight and hearing. The mariners could not helpe the matter, whose wordes in the tumult could not be heard, nor theyz commaunde-
mentes observed amongst men in seare and out of order. The shippes therefore dashed one against an other, the Ores crashed asunder, and euerie ship either thrust forwardes, or put backe another. No man would haue iudged it to bee one Paue, but rather two sundry Paues figh-
ting a battaille vpon the Sea. The prores did

strike

strike against the puppes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the wordes of men in theyz wrath turned into stripes. By that time the flood had overflowne all y plains thereabout, so that nothing apperead aboue the water sauing the hilles, which seemed like lytle Islands, whereunto many did swinne, and left their shippes for seare. Whiles the Paue thus disperckled abroade, partly stode afloat, when they happened in any valley, and partly stycked vpon the ground, if they did hit vpon the flats, according to the ground which was overflown: sodeinly there came another ferroze bigger then the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course with so great violence, as it came forwardes, & restored the sight of the land, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the water, fell vpon theyz sides, and the fildees were strokne with broken boordes, and with pieces of Ores. The souldiers durst not go forwyr to lande, and yet were in doubt to tarie on shipborde, looking euer for some greater mischiese to come, then that they sawe present or past. They could scarsly beleue that they saw and suffered, which was shipwracke vpon the land, and the Sea within a Riuier. And they thought no ende woulde come of this mischiese: for they knewe not that the flood shoulde shortly returne againe, and set their shippes afloat. And therfore they imagined to themselves famyne,

and

and all extremities. The monstres also of the sea, which after the water was past, were left on drie land, put them in great feare. The night approached, and despayre brought the king into a great agonie. Yet no care could so ouercome his hart, that was invincible, but that he watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the River to bring him woorde when the tide came. He caused two shippes that were broken to bee amended, and such as were ouerwhelmed to be hoised vp againe, warnynge all men to lye in wayte, and be in a readinesse against the water shold arise.

Whan hee had consumed all that night in watching, and giuing exhortation to his men, streight-wares the horsemen returned a mayne gallop, & the floud followed them: which mildly increasing, began to raise againe their shippes, and when it had once overflowne the bankes, þ whole nauy began to moue. Then all the coast rebounded with the vimeasurable rejoicing þ the souldiers and mariners made for their safegarde, wherof they were before in dispayre. Whan they sawe the daunger past, they enquired with wonder one of another, by what reasoñ the sea could so scorne after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated the nature of that element, whiche one while disagreed, and another whiles was obedient and subiect to the tyme. The king coniecturing by the signes he had scorne before, þ after the sunne rising the tyde woulde serue hys purpose

purpose to preuent the matter, at midnight with a few shippes he fletted down the strem : and passing out at the mouth of the River, entred four hundred furlongs into the sea, where attaining the thing that he desyred, made sacrifice to the Goddes of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countreys, and returned againe vnto his nauy. From thence the next day he returned backwards against the stremme, and arriued at a salt lake, the nature wherof being vnknowne, deceived many that rashly entered into the water: for theyr bodyes by and by became full of scabs, which disease taken by some the contagion thereof infected many other. But they found that oile was a remedy for the same. Alexander lying still with his armie, wayting for the spryng time of the yere, sent Leonatus afoare by the land way wher he thought to passe, for to digge welles, because the countrey was very drie, and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many Cities, and commaundered Pearchus and Onesicritus (that were most experte of nauall thinges) with his strongest shippes to passe into the Ocean, and to go forwardes so farre as they myght with suretie, for to understand the nature of the Sea, and wille them at their retурne to lande within that Ryuer, or els within Euphrates. Whan the winter was well passed, hee burned those shippes whiche he occupied not, and conueyed his armie by lande.

After nine encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, and from thence in nyne daies came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a free nation, by generall counsayle had amongst them, yeelded themselves: of whō there was not any thing demanded, sauing onclie victualles. The fift day he came unto a Riuere which the countrey men call Barabon beyonde the which there lay a barraine countrey greatly destitute of water, through the which he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betooke the greater part of his army to Ephessiōn, and parted his souldiers that were light armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, and so wasted the countrey with threē armes at once, and tooke great praiers. Ptholomeus burned towards the Sea, Leonatus on the other side, and Alexander himselfe in the middest. In that countrey he builded also a Citie, and brought menne out of Arachosia to inhabite it. From thence hee came amongst the Indians, which lying vpon the Sea coast, do inhabite a great countrey that is waste and desert. They vse no traffique, intercourse, nor conuersation with anye of their neighbours: but the desertnes of theyz country made them sauage, beeing wilde of theyz owne nature. They ware long nayles, which they never cut, and long haire, that was never clipped. They made theyz houses of the shelles of fishes, and of other thinges that the Sea cast vp: And beeing clad with the skinnes of wylde beastes,

gates

eate fish dried with the sunne, and fedde vpon such monstrous fishes as the Sea cast vpon the lande. Here the Macedons consumed their vyc tuals, and first endured scar sitie, and after ward extreme hunger, searching out in euerie place the rootes of the Palmes, which is the onely tree that groweth in that countrey. But when that kinde of nourishment failed them, they kylled their cariage beastes, and abstained from theyz horses: whereby lacking beastes to beare theyz baggage, they were enforced to consume wyth fire the spoiles of their enemies, which had caused them to trauaile into the uttermost boundes of the Orient.

After their famine followed a pestilence: for the unaccustomed nourishment of the vnwholesome meates that that they did eate, with the trauaile of their tourney and the care of minde, spread dissesases amongst them, in such sort that they could neyther continue in a place, nor yet go forwardes without great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they tarved: and the Pestilence was more vehement ever as they wente forwardes. The fieldes therefore were strovne full of men that were halfe deade, and halfe aliue. And such as were but smally sick, were not able to followe the army: it marched with such spedde: for euerie man thought to further so much his owne safegarde, as by making haste he could get before his fellos. Such as fainted and could not followe, desired both

D H J

such

such as they knew and knew not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beastes whereupon to set them : and the souldiers could scarcely bear their owne armour, which had the imminent mischiese that fell vpon other men, represented before their owne eyes. Wherefore, when they were called vpon, they would not vouchsafe once to looke backe : feare had so taken away all compassion from them. Then they which were left behinde, cryed vpon the Gods and their king for helpe , alleadging that they were all of one religion, which was a bande for one to relieue another. But when they had cryed long in vaine unto theyr deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like ende to theyr frendes and companions, that they themselves endured . The king troubled both wyth sorowe and with shame , because hee, and none els shold be the cause of so great destruction of his men , did write to Phrataphernes ruler of the Parthenians, to send to him vpon Camels, virtualles in readinesse to be eaten , and certifyed the Princes of the countreys thereabouts of his necessarie, which did not slacke the time, but made prouision according to his will. Thus hys army deliuered only from famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians : And so as much as the same was a countrey fertill of all things, he thought good to stay there a while with rest to recover againe his feeble souldiers. There hee receyued letters from Leonatus,

holme

how he had wonne the victorie of the Horitans, which encountered him with eight thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen : and was aduertised also from Craterus, how he had taken and put in holde Oxines and Zariaspes noblemen of Persia, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the countrey, wherof he had the rule vnto Siburtius, and afterwardest went into Carmania. As passtes was gouernour of that nation : who beeing suspected of truacion , whylest Alexander was in India, met him on his way. But hee dissimuling his yce, entayned him gently, and did to him his accustomed honour, till such time as he had better profe of the matter , which was laide agaynst him.

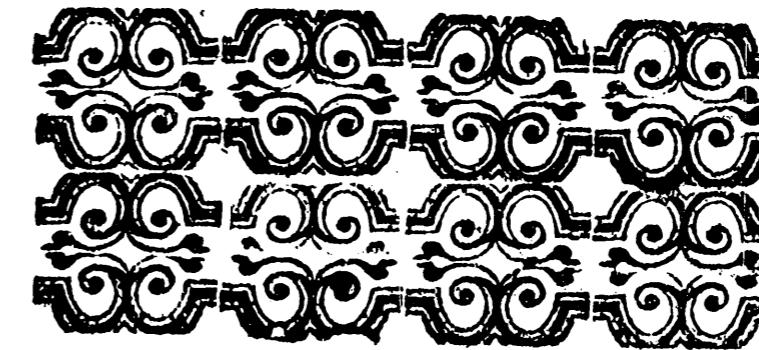
Whan the Princes of India had, according to his appointment, sent out of all countreys vnder his Empire, great plenty of horse and other beastes, both of cariage and of draught. He gaue cariage againe to all men that wanted, & reflored theyr armour to the forme beautifullie & excellencie. For they were come into a countrey rayning vpon Persia, whch both was abounding of all thinges ; and also quietly establisched vnder his subiectio[n]. He thought it then a tyme to counterfeite Bacchus in the glorie and fame whch he got amongst those nations. Whither it were a triumph that Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of h[im] selfe in dronkennesse.

Hay,

Alexander

Alexander was determined to counterfeite hys
dwings, hauing his mind puffed vp aboue mans
estate. He commaunded therefore all the villa-
ges throughout the which he shold passe, to bee
stroyned with flowers and garlands, and wyne
to be set forth before euerie mans doore, for all
men that wold drinke. He caused wagons also
to be made of largenes, able to carie great num-
bers: and decking the same with pretious fur-
nitures, the king went formost with his frends,
and next to them his garde, wearing vpon their
heades garlands of flowers, some playing vpon
flutes, and some vpon harpes: Euerie one gene-
rally through the army decked his chariot accord-
ing to his abilitie and substanciall, whereas
they beeing giuen to banqueting, did hang their
rich armour besides them. Alexander with such
as hee called to his company, was carayed in a
chariot laden with cups of golde, and other gol-
den vessell: he with his dronken army, marched
thus seuen daies togither in ostentation of the
pray they had gotten: Wherein they shewed
such dissolutenes, that if one thousand of the sub-
dued people durst daring that time haue giuen
them the onset, they myght haue take them pry-
soners, and led them away in triumph. But for-
tune which hath appointed both fame and esti-
mation to things, tourned all this disorder vnto
his glorie. For both the age that was then, and
the posteritie that came after, marueilid, and
ooke it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolut-

He amongst those nations, not yet establisched
vnder his Empire, the barbarous people repu-
ting his rashnes for an assured confidence. But
shedding of blood ensued after this triumph. For
Prince Aspaltis (spoken of before) was com-
maunded to bee put to death: so that hys
exesse in voluptuousnes was no
let vnto his crueltie, nor
crueltie impediment
to his voluptu-
ousnes.



THE TENTH BOOKE OF QVIN.

Curtius of the Actes of the great
Alexander, King of Ma-
cedon.



Bout the same time, Cleander, Hitalches, Agathon, and Heraccon, which by þ kings appointment had put Parmenio unto death, retourned to him bringing with them v. 3. footemen, & a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers þ followed them out of the Province, wher of they had the gouernance: Whose behaviour there was such, that the acceptable seruice they had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could bee no satisfaction for the multitude of offences they had committed. They vsed such an universall spoile, not abstaining from the þ temples, nor from sacred things. The virgins also & great ladies of the countrey, whom they had rauished, complained of them: lamenting þ shame they had susteined. They vsed such couetousnes & inordinate lust in theyr authoritie, that it cauised the name of þ Macedons to bee hated amōg those nations. And yet amongst all the rest, Cleanders offence was most horrible, which rauishing a virgin of noble bloud, gave her to his slave to vse as his concubine.

The

The more part of Alexander's frendes were not so much offended with theyr crueltie and folowles actes (whereof they were accused) as with the remembraunce of Parmenio his death, which they kept in silence, least the rehearsall thereof might haue procured them fauour with þ king: reioycing that the kinges wrath was fallen vp-pon the Ministers of his yre, and that no power nor authoritie gotten by euill meanes, coulde haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayde that the accuser overslipte the greater offence, which was the dispeyse of hys safegarde. For if they had eyther hoped or beleeued that hee shoulde euer haue retourned out of India, they durst neuer (hee saide) haue committed any such offences. He commannded them therefore to pryon, and put sise hundred souldiers to death, that had beene ministers of theyr crueltie: and they also were executed the same day, whiche Craterus had brought as authours of the rebellion out of Persia. Within a while after Pearchus and Dresicritus, whiche had beene commaunded by the king to search the Ocean Sea, retourned to him, declaring some thinges by knowledge, and some by report. They shewed him of an Iland not farre from the mouth of Indus, which abounded with golde, and had no breede of horses amongst them: Wherefore the inhabitants would giue a talent of golde for euerie horse brought from the main land. They also tolde of great monstrous fishes (whereof those

Seas

Seas were full) which earied downe with the tyde would shew their bodies aboue the water, as big as a great ship, and followe their nauie with a terrible noise. And when they diued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as if it had beeene a shipwacke. These were thinges they had seene, the rest they had receiued by report of the inhabitoz: as how that the red Sea tooke his name of king Erithrus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewed also of an other Iland not far from the maine lande, growning full of plaine trees, where was a great wood and in the middest thereof stode a piller, wyth inscription of such letters as he vsed in the country. They added besides, that such mariners as caried the merchants, and the drudges of the army, through couetousnes of the gold, which had beeene reported vnto them, landed in the Ilande, and were never seene after. Their wordes moued Alexander much, and put him in a great desire, to get more certain knowledge of those parties: and therfore he commaunded them again to the Sea, willing that they should coast the land, til they came within the River of Euphrates, and from thence to come vp to Babilon against the streame.

The things were infinite that he compassed in his head, for he determined after that he had brought the Sea coast of the Orient vnder hys subiection, to go out of Siria into Africke, for y enoy he bare to the Carthagens: Hye purposed

from

from thence to passe ouer the deserts of Numidia towardes Gades, where he vnderstoode by the fame that Hercules had planted his pillars; and so dyrecting his iourney through Spaine, (the whiche the Grekes of the Riuere Iberus cal Iberia) to go ouer the Alpes, and so into Italy, till he shoulde come to the coast where the nexte passage was into Epyrus. For this intent hee gaue commaundement to his officers in Mesopotamia, that they shoulde cut downe timber in the Mount Libanus, and conuey the same vnto Caplagas a Citie in Siria. And there to make galleys of such greatness, that euerie one of them might be able to carie seuen Dres vpon a bank, and from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto Babilon. He sent commaundement to the kings of Cypres, to furnish them of Iron, hemp, and sayles. Whilest these thinges were in doeing, hee received letters from Porus and Lariles, signifying that Abiazares was dead of a disease, and that Philippe his lieutenant in those partes was slaine, and they put to death that were the doers thereof. Alexander in the place of Philip appointed Eudemon that was Capaine of the Thracians, & gaue Abiazares kyngdome vnto his sonne. From thence he came to Pesargades, a countrey of the Persians, where Orsines was Lord: which both in nobilitie and riches, exceeded all other men in those parties, as one that conueyed his pedigree from Cyrus, that sometime was king of Persia.

The

The riches his predecessors left him was great, and he by a long continuance in his inheritance and authoritie, had much encreased the same.

He met Alexander comming thitherwards, and presented both him and his frends, with gifts of sundrie sortes, with a great number of horses ready to be ridden vpon, Chariots wrought wⁱ gold and siluer, pretious stufte, excellent pearles and pretious stones, weightie vessels of golde, roabes of purple, and foure thousand talentes of coyned siluer: but that his liberalitie was occasion of his death. For when he had presented all the kinges frends with giftes aboue theyr desire, hee honoured not with any giftes at all Bagoas the Cunuch, whom Alexander special-ly favoured for the vsage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander esteemed Bagoas: but he an-swered them, that his custome was to honour the kinges frends, and no harlots: Nor that it was not the Persians maner to haue any in es-timation, which did effeminate themselves wⁱ so shamefull an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Cunuch he vsed the power which he had gotten by dishonest meanes, to the destruction of that noble and innocent man. For he did subornate certeine lewde persons of D^rsines countrey, to bring in false accusations against him, whiche he wylled them to present at such time as hee shoulde ap-point unto them.

In the meane season, whensocuer Bagoas got the king alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales against D^rsines, euer dissimuling y^e cause of his displeasure, least thereby he might lose the credit of his false report. The king had not D^rsines yet in suspect of any such matter as afterwards was laid against him: but he began to groen with him out of estimation. His accu-sation was euer so secret, y^e hee could never get knowledge of the perill y^e was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot in his vile conuersatio had with y^e king, was mindfull euer of the malice he bare to D^rsines, whom he would not cease to bring in suspicio of couetous-nes, or of rebellion, so oft as he sawe Alexander bent to vse him familiarly. By y^e time y^e false ac-cusations were in redines, y^e he had prepared to y^e destruction of the innocent: whose fatall desti-nie approaching could not be avoided. It chanced y^e Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cirus body was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certeine ceremonies for the dead: But thinking in very dede y^e his tombe had bene full of golde and siluer, whereof there was a constant fame amongst y^e Persians. But when it was viced there was nothing found, but a rotten target, y^e Scithian bowes, & a sword. Alexander caused y^e coffin wherein Cirus body was laid, to be cou-ered with the garment he accustomed to wear, & set thereon a crowne of golde, marueilng that there was no more sumptuousnes vised in burial

of such a king, endued with so great riches, lyng there but after the common sorte of menne. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stood next vnto Alexander, who behelde him in y face and saide,

What marueltie is it though the sepulchers of kings bee emptie, when Lordes houses be not able to receiue the golde they haue taken out from thence? For my part I neuer saw this tombe before: but I haue heard Darius report, that there were three thousand talents burped with Cirus. Thereof (quoth hee) proceeded Orlines liberaritie in winnynge your fauour by the gift of the thing, which he knew he could not keape.

When hee had thus stirred vp Alexanders wrath against Orlines, he presented them whō hee had suborned to accuse him: By whose report, and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alexander was so incensed against Orlines, that hee was put in prison, before he could suspect that he was accused. The Cunuch was not contented wryth the destruction of this innocent man, but at hys death laide violent hands vpon him: To whom Orlines saide: I haue heard that women in times past haue reigned, and borne great rule in Asia: but it is now a most straunge thing that a gelding shold haue the Empire in his hands. This was the ende of the mooste noble man amoungst the Persians, who was not onely an innocent in this matter, but such a one as bare singuler affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same tyme Phradates, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe king, was put to death.

Death. Alexander began then to be much enclyned to the shedding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperitie is of such a force to chaunge a mans nature, wherein few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he that a little before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when he was accused by two witnessses: that suffered diuers of more meane estate to be acquitted, though it grudged his mynde, because they seemed not guiltie to other men: And he which bellowed kingdomes vpon his enemis, whome hee had subdued, was in the ende so much altered from his former inclination, y against his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot, he would giue kingdomes to some, and take away the lues from other. About y same time hee received letters of thinges done in Europe, whereby he vnderstoode that whilst he was in India, Zopirus his Lieutenant in Thrace dyd make a iourney against the Getes, where by stormes and tempestes that sodeinly rose vpon him, he was destroied and all his army. When Deuthesodrysas vnderstoode the defeate of that army, he procured the Odrissians that were hys countrey men to revolte: So that all Thrace was in maner lost therby, and Greece stode in no great suretie. The writers of the actes of great Alexander, make mention in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was verie famous in Philosophie, which by persuasson of king Taxiles followed Alexander, and ended his life after

a strange sort. When he had liued lxxij. without any disease; at his comming into Persia, hee felte a paine in his belly, whereby conjecturing that the ende of his life was come, least such a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, shoulde be spotted with any long disease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines, which Physitions vsed to minister, requyrd Alexander that he might cause a fire to be made, and to burne himself in the same. The king began to diswade him from his purpose, thinking to haue brought him from the doing of so horrible an acte: but when hee perceiued with what stedfastnes and constancie he stode in his intent, and that there was no way to keepe him any longer aliue, hee suffered a fyre to be made according to his will, wherinto Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his praier to the Gods of his country: and taking the Macedons by the handes, required them y they wold spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their kng, whom within a while he shold see at Babylon. When he had spoken those wordes, he went merily into y fyre, wheras plying his body comely, kepte still the same gesture and countenance at his death, that he was wont to vse. When the fyre flamed, the trumpets blew, the men of warre making such a shoute, as they accustomed going to the bataille, which rebounded vp to the sky, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These bee the things that sage writers do tellisg of Calan-

mus, which was a notable example of an invincible minde, constantly bent to suffer any aduersitie. From thence Alexander went into Susa, whereas he tooke to wife, and lawfully marayed Statira, Darius eldest daughter: Whose younger sister called Dripetis, he gaue to wife unto Ephestion. And bestowed to the number of lxxx. virgins of the noblest of all the nations hee had conquered, to the principall Macedons, and to y chiefe of his frends, because he would not sent alone to begin so strange a custome. These marriages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast provided at the espousals: Wherat there were lx. M. gestes, to every one of whom Alexander gaue a drinking cup of golde. At the same time the rulers of the Cities, which Alexander had subdued and bulded, sent vnto him xxx. M. young souldiers, that were all of one age, furnished with faire armour apte to do any enterprize of the warre, which he called Epygony, that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their comming seemed to be somewhat appalled, which wearied with long warre, vsed often in assemblies to murmur, and speake mutinous wordes against the king. For that cause hee had prepared these souldiers to restraine the arrogancie of other, and gaue vnto them great benefites. Harpalus, to whom the king had committed the charge of the treasure and revenues at Babylon, hearing of the actes that Alexander had done in subduing the more parte of the

kinges of India, and his successe to be so prosperous, that nothing could withstande him : knowing the unsatiable desire that was in Alexander to visite farre countreys, and to encrease hie glorie, thought it shold bee a harde matter for him to returne to Babilon againe. Wherefore gaue himselfe to delight and to lust, misusing many that were noble and free women, & wallowed in all kind of voluptuousnes: In so much that hee sent into Athenis for a famous harlotte called Potonice, to whome he both gaue manie great and princely giftes whilst she was aliue, and also after her death spent thyrtie talents vpon her tombe. Having in these and such other like voluptuous wasted & vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when he vnderstode Alexander to be come out of India, and to vse extreme iustice vppon his officers, that misused them of whome he had rule, (by reason he was priuy to his soule conscience) he feared the lyke might come to himselfe: And therefore gathering togither fife thousand talentes, & six thousand mercenary souldiers, tooke y way towards Athenis, no man willing to receive him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (whereas a great number of the mercenary Greekes, which had beene discharged out of Asia, were assembled) he left his souldiers there, and went to Athenis with his money: when he was come thither, great number of the citizens stoked about him, moze for loue of his money, then for hys
owne sake:

owne sake: but specially the Dratoz, and such as vsed to make their game by orations, & persuading of the people: whom by small rewards he easily corrupted to defend his cause with the people. But afterwardes at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commanded to depart the Citie, and so returned amongst the Greeke souldiers, by whome he was slaine. Therefore with thyrtie shippes they passed ouer to Sunium, which is a point of the lande in the territorie of Athenis, from whence they determined to haue entered into Athenis hauen. These thinges being knowne, Alexander that was soze moued as well against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a great nauye to make war in person immediately against them. And as hee was busied about the matter, he vnderstode by secret letters, how both Harpalus had beeene in Athenis, and corrupted with money the chiese of the Citie: And also how that afterwardes by a councell of the people, he was commaunded to depart from thence, who returning amongst the Greeke souldiers, was slaine by one of them by treason. These newes greatly rejoiced Alexander, whereby hee had occasion to leau off his journey into Europe: but he sent commaundement to all the cities of Greece, that they should receive againe all theyr banished men, excepte such onely as had committed any further vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Greeks knew the same to be the breach of theyr
I. i. J. b.

liberties, and their lawes, and the beginning of theyr bondage, yet as men that durst not disobeye his will, they called home theyr banished men, and restorod to them such of their goddes as did remaine. Only the Athenians which euer defended obstinately the liberties of theyr common wealth, and which had not beeне accustomed to live vnder the obedience of any king, but vnder the lawes and customes of their countrey, would not agree that such dredge of men should live amongst them, but did drine them out of their boundes, ready to suffer any thing rather then to receive such, as sometime were the rascals of theyr Cittie, and then the refuse of all the outlaies. The time was come, that Alexander minded to dismisse his olde souldiers, and send them into their countrey: but he willed first ry. thousand footmen, and y. M. horsemen to be chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which he iudged might be kept with a small army, because (he thought) the garrisons he had planted in many places, & the cities which he had newly builded & filled with inhabiters, should be able to stay such as woulde attempt any rebellion. But before he woulde make any diuision of such as shoulde depart & remain, he caused a proclamation to bee made y all souldiers shoulde declare their debts (wherwith he perceiued many to be soze burdened) and though their debt did rise by theyr own disorder & excesse, yet he was determined to discharge euerie man. But the souldiers,

ges

ers, thinking it had beeне but a deuise to trie out the prodigall from the rest, delaied the time, and brought not in theyr declarations. The king perceiued shame to be thereof, & no disobedience or selfe will: Add therefore caused tables to bee set vp through his camp, & r. M. talents to be broght forth: of all which treasure when their debtes were paid, according to the iust declaratiō, there remained no more but a Cxxx. talents. Wherby it appeared that they which were the conquerors of so many rich natiōs, brought out of Asia, more glorie then spoile. But after it was once knowne y some shoulde be dispatched, & some remain stil, they thought y king woulde haue establishid his kingdom perpetually in Asia. Wheresoever like mad men, & vniindfull of all discipline of warre, they filled the campe full of all seditious words, and came vnto the king more arrogantly, & with greater rigor then euer they did before, al with one voice, requyring to be discharged, shewing forth the hoarines of their hayre, & their faces deformed w skars. And herein they could not bee staled, either by chastisement of the officers, or by any reuerence of theyr king: but when he woulde haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffer him to be heard, but disturbed his tale with theyr tumultuous crie, and vgly throng: protesting openly that they woulde neuer move one foote forwaards to any place, except it were towards their owne countrey. After a great space, (because they thought that Alex-

A. G.

and

anber would encline to theyr purpose) they kept silence, and stode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake vnto them.

What meaneth this sodaine trouble of mynde, thys so malipert, and vnlawfull libertie? I am afayde to speake vnto you: you haue so manifly broken your obedience towardes mee. I am nowe become a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neither leste me the libertie to knowe you, to exhort you, nor to beholde you. Beinge determined to sende some into their countrey before, and to bring the rest with mee shortly after: I see them as well that shall be now dispatched crying and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with mee. What a matter is this? Their crie is alake, notwithstanding that their cause is diuers. I woulde faine knowe whether they complaine that departe, or they that tary still.

Whan he had spoken those words, they cryed all (as it had been with one mouth) that they complained euery man: Then he said.

Truely it cannot be so: nor I cannot be perswaded that you shold all be greeued for the cause you declare, seeing the case toucheth not the most part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remaine still. There must needes be some greater mischiefe then appereth, that shold turne you all from mee: when was it euer seene, that an whole armie hath forslaken their king? The slaues runne not from their maisters all at once: but there is always a shame in some to leaue them, whom the rest forslakes. But why doe I forget that you bee mad in your mindes: or why go I about to cure you that bee vncurable? I condemne fro hence forth all the god hope that euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to work no more with you, as with my scouldiers (seeing yee will not bee mine) but with men hugratefull and brimindfull of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnesse, is euene the abundance of your prosperitie, whereby yoa forget your olde estate, from the which yee be deliuered through my benefite. You are men worthy to haue spent your liues in your for-

mer beggerie, seeing you can better beare aduersitie then prosperous fortune. Beholde, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illyrians and Persians, doe now disdaine Alia, and the spoyle of so many natiengs. You, which vnder Philip went halfe naked, nowe yee contemne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure to beholde any longer the sight of gold and siluer. You desire againe your wooden dishes, your targets made of Wyckers, and your swordes courred with rust. I received you in this simple estate, with fwe hundred tales in debt, when all my furnyture exceeded not in value fortie talentes. This was my foundation of my actes, wherewith (without envy be it spoken) I haue subdued the greatest part of the world. Are you wary of Alia, which hath ministred vnto you occasion of such glorie, that by the greatness of your actes, ye bee made equall with the Gods? Do you all make such haste in to Europe, to forslake mee that am your king? The moxe parte of you shoulde haue lacked money to beare your charge thither, if I of my benevolēce had not paid your debtes. Are you not ashamed that haue robbed all Alia, to beare the spoiles of so manye Nations within your bellies, and nowe to returne home to your wynes and children, vnto whom there bee but fewe of you that can shewe any rewardes of your victorie: For many of you shall bee compelled to gage your armour, if ye forslake this good hope, which ye might receive at my handes. These be the god men of warre that I shal want, whiche of all their riches haue nothing leste them, but onely their concubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persians shall defend your backes when yee be gone. I will hold none of you: deliver mine eyes ye ungratefull countrey men, of the sight I see of you. Shall your parents and children receive you with joy, when they shall see you retourne without your king? Shall they couet to mace such as be fugitives, and forslakers of their Prince? I truely shall tryumph vpon departure: and wheresoeuer you shall bee, I shall desire to be reuenged, honouring always, and preferring before you, those which ye haue left heere with mee. Now ye shal know of what force an army is that lack-

The tenth booke

eech a king, and what moment doth consist in me alone? When he had spoken those wordes, he leaped in a fury from the judgement seate, and ran into the throng of the armed men: whereas he tooke with his owne hands such as had mutined mole against him, Of whome there beeing none that durst make resistance, he delivered ryg. unto his garde to be safely kept. Who would thinke an assembly which a little before had spoken to their prince with such fiercenes and rigor, could haue beeene so sodeinly appalled for feare? Whiche seeing theyr companions led to execution, durst not mooue, nor make attempt. But the inordinate libertie they vsed before, their seditious violence was then so staid, that not one of them durst resist the king running amongst them, but were all astonied for feare, and stode like men amaz'd, with doubtfull imaginations, looking what he would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reverence they bare to his name, because the nations that liue vnder kinges, are wont to honor them as Goddes, or were it the maiestie of his person, or els his owne assured constancie, executing hys authoritie with such violence, which put them in feare: they shewed a notable example of patience. For they remayned not only without stirre or motion at the execution of theyr companions (whom they knew to be put to death in the night time) but were also more diligent in doing their duties then ever they were before: pretermittting nothing per-

perteining to obedience, and naturall affection towardes theyr Prince. For the next day whent they came to the Court, and were not suffered to enter, but all shut out sauing the souldiers of Asia, they made a sorrowfull crie and lamentation, which spred ouer all the campe, protesting y they would not live, if the king continued stil in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in all the things he had once conceiued in his heade, commaunded all the Macedons to keepe still theyr campe, and assembled the souldiers straungers togither, to whome by an interpreter hee made this Oration.

At such time as I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble nations, & great power of menne, vnder myne Empire and dominion: wherein I was not deceiued. For hevbes that y same reported you to be men of valure, I haue found in you one thing more: which is an incomparable obedience, fidelite, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had overflowne all vertue among you, and through your great felicitie, yee had borne drowned in pleasures: But I finde it other wise, and percepue that none obserue the discipline and order of the warr, better then you do, nor execute the same with more accutie nor stoutnes: And being manfull and valiant men, ye embrace fidelite, no lesse then you doe the rest. This thing I do but now acknowledge: but I knew it long ago: which was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of those nations, to bee my souldiers, and did incorporate you amongst mine owne people, causing you to vse the same habite, and the same armour: But your obedience and patience towards the authoritie, appereith much better in you then in them. Wherefore I haue toynd to my selfe in mariage, the daughter of Dapatres that is a Persian: not disdaining to beget children vpon a captiu.

And afterwards desiring more abundantly to increase the issue of my body, I tooke to wife the daughter of Darius, and was the authour that my neare frendes likewise shold begette chldren vpon captives: mynning by this holy cauenant to exclude the difference betwene the victoress and the vanquished. Wherefore you must nowe thinke that you bee not souldiers vnto mee adopted, but more naturall: And that Asia & Europe is one kingdome without any difference. I haue giuen vnto you armour after the manner of the Macedons. I haue brought all straungenes and noueltie into a custome: and nowe ye bee both my countrey men, and my souldiers, all thinges receining one forme and fashyon. I haue not thought it vnseemely for the Persians to shadowe the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeit the Persians: seeing they ought to be vnder one law & custome, that should liue vnder one king.

When he had made this oration, hee commited the custodie of his person vnto the Persians: he made them of his guarde, and his officers of iustice. By whome when the Macedons, which had giuen occasion of this sedition, were ledde bounde vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater estimation then the rest, spake after this maner.

How long will you thus giue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the strangers maner: Your souldiers and countrey men be drawn to execution by their owne prisoners, before their causes is heard. If you haue judged vs worthy of death, at least way chaunge the ministers of your wrath.

This was a good admonishment if hee had beeне pacient to heare the truth: but his wrath was growne into a woodnesse: so that when he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a litle at the matter, he caused the prisoners

to

to bee fumbled into the Riuier, and there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelty of this punishment, the souldiers were not stirred to any sedition, but repaired by rowtes vnto their Capitaines, and vnto such as were neare about the king: requyring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he shoulde commaund them to be put to death, proffering theyz bodies to be punished and executed at hys owne will. After it was knowne that the lieutenants shippes were giuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names giue vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiecte with reproch, they coulde not then any longer conseine themselves, nor suffer the dolour they had conceiued in their hartes, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing onely theyz nethermost garmentes, and leauing theyz weapons without the gate in token of repentaunce. There with weeping, and all tokens of humiliacie, they made request to be admitted to y kings presence, and that he would vouchsafe to pardō theyz offence: pacifying his wrath with y death of so many as he shoulde thinke good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproch: which except he would release, they protested they would never depart out of the place.

When those thinges were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened and came forth amongst them: Whereas beolding

holding their lamentation and repentance, their miserable behauour and affliction, he could not absteine to weepe long time with them: and in consideration of theyr modestie, forgave them theyr former offences. And after he had temporally tolde them theyr faults, and againe comforted them with gentle wordes, he discharged many from the seruice of the warres, and sente them home liberally rewarded: writing to Antipater his lieuetenant in Macedon, y he shold assigne them the chife places in the theaters, at triumphes and open plaines, wheras they should sit with garlandes on their heades: willing that theyr children after theyr deatnes, should enioye theyr fathers wages. He appointed Craterus to be theyr ruler, to whom in the place of Antipater, he had committed the gouernement of Macedonia, Thessaly, & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repayre unto him with a supply of young souldiers. Alexander had received letters before, both from him, & Olympias his mother: whereby dissencion appeared to be betwixt them. For hys mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe king. And Antipater did write how Olympias did many things otherwise then did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so greeuously in his hart, that he conspyred thereupon to poyson Alexander: who having accomplished y matters that before be mentioned, went to Echatan(being in Medea) to set order in the necessary affaires of his Empire, and

theres

therer ordeneid solempne triumphs and feasting. It chaunced Ephestion, whom the king special-
ly loued, & vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a feuer: Whose death Alexander tooke more sorrowfully then may well bee credi-
ted, committing in his dolor many things that did not beseeme the maiestie of a prince. He coman-
ded Ephestios phisition to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay em-
bracing of the dead bodie, and could hardly bee taken away by his frendes, but continued hys sorowe night and day. There be many other thinges written in that behalfe, which be scarce
ly credible. But it is certeine that hee com-
maunded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto
a God, and consumed in his buriall, and in ma-
king of his tombe, aboue twelue thousand ta-
lents. As he was returning to Babylon, y Cal-
dean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting
him that he shold not enter into the Citie, for
that it was signified, that if he went thither at
that time, he shold be in great perill of his life.
Notwithstanding he regarded not their admis-
nishments, but went forwardes in his iourney,
according as he appointed. For he understood
that Embassadors were come thither from all
Regions, taryng for his comming. The terror
of his name was so spred throughout the world,
that all Nations shewed an obsequiousnes to-
wardes him, as though he had bene appointed
to be their king.

That

That caused him to make haste to Babylon, to keepe there as it were a Parliament of þ whol world. When he was come thither, he received the Embassadors gently, and afterwardes dyspatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, wherunto the king beeing bidden, came thither with such as were appoynted to keepe him companie: But hee had not so soone dronk of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had beeene striken vnto the hart. And being cartied out of the feast halfe dead was so tormented with paine, that hee requyred a sworde to haue killed himselfe. His frends did publish abroade, dronkennes to be the cause of hys disease: but in verie dede it was prepensed treason, the infamie whereof, the power of hys successores did oppresse. The poysen prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his sonne, which with his brethren Phillip and Jolla, were woon to serue the king at meate. He was warned that he shoulde not commit the same poysen to any person, excepte it were to Thessalus, or to his brethren. Phillip therefore and Jolla, which were woon to take the say of the kinges cuppe, hauing the poysen ready in colde water, mixed it with wine, after they had fasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers, partly for that they suspec- ted he had beeene dead, and partly because they could not endure to wante long his sight, came

sorow-

sorowfully vnto the court, desiring to see þ king, which by his commaundement were admitted to his presence, by such as had the charge of hys person. When they behelde him lying in þ case, they made great sorow and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to bee the same theyr king, whom they were woon to see, but rather a dead corpes. If their griefe was great, the sorowe of them that stode next to the bed apperead much moze, whome when Alexander behelde lamenting after that sort, he saide vnto them.

When I shall depart, you shal find a king wor-
thie for such men as you be.

It is a thing incredible, holwe that during the time that the souldiers of his whole army came to visite him, he never altered countenance nor gesture, but continued in that kinde of presence he gaue vnto the first, to the last man. When he had dismissed the multitude, as though hee had beeene discharged of all debt of life, he lay bowne againe to resse his weake bodie: and his boyce beginning to fayle him, hee commaunded hys frendes to come neare about him. Then taking his Ring from his finger, he deliuered it to Per-
dicas, and gaue therewith a commaundement, that his bodie shoulde be conueied to Hammone. They demaunded to whom he would leauue his kingdome. He said: to the worshiest. By which wordes it apperead that he forslaw the conten-
tion that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of him, when

he woulde haue diuine honoرس done vnto him & At such time (quoth he) as you shall finde your selues in felicitie. These were the last wordes Alexander spake, and shortly after hee died. Immediately after his death, the Court was full of howling, lamenting, and sorow making: & by and by, as it had beeне in a deserte or solitarie place, all things were whist, & a sorowful silence was spred ouer all, euerie man being conuerted into imagination, what shoulde become of þ matter. The young men of the Nobilitie, that were accustomed about Alexanders person, could not beare the greatness of theyr dolour, nor keep þselues within the compasse of the court, but ran about as men out of theyr wits: wherby þ citie was filled with heauines & complaint, and no kinde of lamentation pretermitted, that sorowe is wont to minister in such a case. Such therefore as were within the Court, understanding this matter, as well Macedons as others, came running thither, whereas the conquerors from the conquered, nor the victors from the vanquished could not bee discerned: the sorow was so indifferent to them all. The Persians called vpon theyr iust and mercifull Lord, & the Macedons made invocation to him that was so valiant & gracious a king: And thus there was a certeine contention of sorow amongst them. Men did not vse theyr onely words of griefe and heauines, but also of grudge & indignation, that so young a prince, being in the flower of his age,

of his fortunate successe, shoulde by the envy of the Gods, be so taken out of this world. They called to remembrance what a cheeresfullnesse they had alwaies seene in his countenance, both when hee ledde them vnto the battaile, when he besieged or assaulted any Cittie, or when hee would giue any commendation to the worthie in any assembly. Then the Macedons repented þeuer they had denied him diuine honoرس: confessing themselves both wicked and ungrateful for depriving him of any name, wherof he was worthie. And when they had continued long in the veneration and desire of him that was dead then they began to pitie theyr owne case, which comming out of Macedon, were past the Riuere of Euphrates, amongst the middest of their enemies, that unwillingly received their newe government. They saue themselves leste destitute, and the Emperre without any ceruite heire: for want of whome, euerie one would go about to drawe the power of his state vnto his private behoife.

And then they begā to conceiue and foreshée in their mindes the ciuill wars þ did ensue, & that they shoulde be enforced to shew their blood again not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of such one þ would seeke to make himselfe king: wherby their olde skars shoulde breake out againe into newe woundes. And moreouer that such as by reason of their age had beeне discharged from the warres by their noble ar-

righteous king, should now be enforced to spend their lives in the quarrell of some such a one as was but his souldier. Whilest thei were in these imaginations, the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The menne of warre watched in harnesse, and the Babylonians looked ouer the walles, peeping out from the toppes of their houses, to spie some cerfeintie how the matter wet. There was none that durst kindle anye light: And because the bse of the eye did faile, they laid their eares to heare the rumors and words that were spoken: And many times they were afraid when no cause was, and when they met toge- ther in the narrow streetes, or darke lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect ech other as ene- mies. The Persians after their accustomed ma- ner, clypped their hayre, and with their wyues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments, with vnfained affection not as a conquerour, as one that lately had been their enemie, but as their righteous and natu- rall king. For they being accustomed to liue un- der a king, could thinke no man worthy but hee to rule ouer them. This sorow was not contey- ned within the walles of the Citie, but streight waies spread ouer all the cuntrey thereabouts. And the fame of so great a mischiefe flying thosroughout all Asia, brought sone tidings thereof unto Darius mother. She at the first reporte fare asunder the garment she ware, and put on mourning apparaile; she pulled her hayre, and

fell

fell downe groueling upon the earth. One of her Peeces late by her mourning the death of Cephelion, whom she had maryed, and in an uni- versall heauines bewailed the cause of her pyp- uate sorow. But Hysigambis alone sustaineid all their miseries, and bewailed both her own case, and her Peeces: her fresh sorow causing her to call to mynde things past. A man would haue iudged by her behauour that Darius had bee nevly slaine, and that she had celebrated the fu- nerals of both her sonnes togither. She did not onely lament the dead, but sorowed also for the living. Who shall now (quoth she) take care of these young women? or who can bee like unto Alexander? now we be taken prisoners againe: now we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius death we found one to de- fend vs. But nowe since Alexander is gone, wha will haue respect of vs?

Amongst these thinges she called to mynde, how Dechus the cruell king had slaine her fa- ther, and foure score of her brethen in one day, and that of seauen children borne of her bodis, there was but one left aliue. She saw that for- tune had aduaunced Darius, and caused him to florish for a time, to the intent he might end hys life by greater crneltie. Finally she was so ouer- come with sorow, that she couered her head, fur- nishing her self from her Peece and Cephelo that late at her feale, and abstaining both from meat and from beolding of the light, ended her life by

sift day after she was determined to die. Thys her death was a great argument of the clemencie that Alexander had shewed towards her, and of the justice towardes all the captives : seeing that after Darius deaſt he could abide to live, but after Alexander's departure, she was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander righteously, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices eyther to his youth, or to the greatness of his fortune. Ther was in him an incredible force of courage and an exceeding sufferance of trauaile. He was endued with manhoode : exceeding, not onely amongſt kings, but also amongſt such as had no other vertue nor qualitie.

He was of ſuch liberalitie, that oftentimes he gaue greater thinges, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes y he gaue in gift, & restored to ſuch from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall contempt of death, the ſcare whereof doth amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory and worldly praise then reaſon would beare, so was it tollerable in ſo yong a man, enterprizing ſuch great & notable actes. The reverence and affection he bare towards his parents, appeared in y purpose he had to consecrate hys mother Olimpias to immortallitie, and in that he ſore reuenged Philip's death. Howe gentle and familiar
was

Was he towards his frēds, and how benevolent towardes his ſoldiers ? He had a wiſedome equall to the greatness of his hart, and ſuch a pollicie and forreſt, as ſo young yeres were ſcarpely able to receiue. A meaſure he had in immodeate pleasures, and laſted leſſe then nature deſired, vſing no pleasure, but that was lawfull: there were wonderfull great giſtes and vertues. But in that he compared himſelfe to the Gods, concurring diuine honoures, & beleued the Dailes that perſwaded ſuch thinges : that he was offended with them that woule not worſhip him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expident : That he altered his habite and apparell into the fefhion of ſtraungers, and counterfeited the cuſtome of them that he had subdued, & despiled before his victorie : these were vices to be attributed to the greatness of fortune. As the heat of youth ſtirred him to anger, & to y deſire of drinking: ſo age might haue mitigated againſt thofe faultes. Not withſtanding it muſt needes be confeſſed, that though hee preuailed much by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more to hys fortune, which onely of all mortall men he had in his owne power.

How often did he deliver him from the point of death: How often did ſhe defend him with perpetual felicity, when he had raſhly brought him ſelfe in perill ? And when ſhe pointed an ende to his glory, ſhe euer the was content to finiſh his life : ſtaying his fall deſtine, till he had ſub-

dued the Orient, visited the Ocean Sea, and ful
filled al that mans mortallity is able to perform.
To this so great a king, and so noble a conque-
rour, a successor was looked for. But the mat-
ter was of ouer great importance for any one
man to take vppon him: Alexanders renowme
and name was so great amongst all Nations:
and they were counted moste noble, that might
bee partakers, (though it were never so litle) of
his prosperous fortune. But to retourne againe
to Babilon, from whence the digression hath
bene made: They which had the garde & custo-
die of Alexanders person, called into the Court
such as had bene his chiese frendes, and Capi-
taines of his men of warre: after whome also
there followed a great multitude of sculdiers,
desiring to know who shoulde be successor vnto
Alexander.

The thong of the sculdiers was such, that
many of the Capitaines were excluded, & could
not enter into the Court. A proclamation ther-
fore was made, wherby all men were forbidden
to enter, except such as were called by name.
But because their commandement seemed to
want authoritte, it was little regarded: and the
multitude at the first began to make a greeuous
sorow and lamentation. But immediately the
besyce they had to understand the successe of the
matter stopped their lamentation, and made si-
lence. Then Verdicas brought forth in sight of
all the people, the kings Chaire of estate, wher-
in

in Alexanderis diademe, his vesture regall, and
his armour were laide: amongst the which or-
naments, Verdicas also laid downe the kings
signet, deliuered to him the day before, at the
sight whereof they began to wepe, and to renue
againe their sorow. Then said Verdicas.

Lo, here is the King wherewith he was sent to
seale such thinges, as pertained to the gouernement of
the Empire, which as he deliuered to mee, I so reserue
it againe to you. And although no aduertitise can bee de-
vised by the Gods (were they never so much offended)
comparable to this: Yet considering the greatness of the
actes which he hath done, we must thinke that as the
Gods sent such a man so to raigne in the Worlde (by his
time beeing expyzed that was appointed) they haue
called him againe to the place from whence he came.
Forasmuch therefore as none other thing remayneth
of him amongst vs, but onely that which is always
sent to bee remoued from immortallitie: let vs per-
forme the due, pertaining both to his bodie, and to his
name: remembryng in what Citie we be, among what
kinde of people, and what a king and gouernour we
haue lost. Wee must debate and devise how to main-
taine our conquest amongst them of whom it is gotten:
For the doing whereof, it is needfull for vs to haue an
head. But whether the same be one or many, it doth
consist in you. You are not ignorant, that a multitude
of men of warre without an head, is as a body wth-
out life. Six moneths be now past, since Moran was
conceiued with childe: we desire of God that she may
bring forth a sonne, which may enjoy thy kingdom,
when he commeth to age. In the meane season appoint
you of whom ye will be gouerned.

Whan Verdicas had spoken those wordes,
Pearchus rose vp and said.

There is no man can denie, but that it were meet for
Alexanders succession to continue in the bloud royall:
but to looke for a king that is not yet borne, and to passe
over one that is in his being already, is neyther expec-
datus

Dient for such menne as the Macedons be, nor yet doth serue the necessarie of the tyme. There is a sonne whiche Alexander be got by Barsynes: what shoulde lete, why the iDyademe may not be ict on his head?

Searching tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the souloiers according to their custome clashed their speares against their targets and continued making of a noise. And when hee would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, y matter had almost breed a sedition, whiche thing perceived by Ptholomeus, he spake after this maner.

Neither the sonne of Roxane, nor Barsynes, is an issue in arte to raigne over the Macedons: whose names we shoulde be ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers beynge captiues. Hauie we subdued the Persians to that ende, to become subiect to such as be descended of them. That was the thing that Darius and Xerxes, beynge kinges of Persia, wrought for in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many hautes. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexander's chayre of estate be set in the myddest of his Court, and that all such as were wout to bee of counsele with him, shall assemble togither, so often as anie matter requyret to bee consulted vppon: And that the Capitaines and Rulers of the army shall bee obedient to that order, whereunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholomeus, but fewe with Perdiccas. Then Litionus spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demanded, to whome hee shoulde leane his kyngdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Whom judged he worthiest but Perdiccas, to whom he deliuered his Ring. This was not done at such tyme as hee was alone: but when all his frendes were present, he did cast his eyes amongst them, and

at length chose out one, to whome he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kyngdome be committed to Perdiccas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assembly cried to Perdiccas that he shoulde come forth amongst them, and take vp the kings signet. But hee stayed betwene ambition & shamefastnes, thinking that the more modestie he vsed in getting the thing he coueted, they woulde bee so much the more earnest to proffer it vnto him. When hee had stode a god while at a stay doubting what to doe, at length he drewe backe, and stode behynde them that late nerke vnto hym. When Meleager that was one of the Capitaines, sawe the stay that Perdiccas made, he tooke courage vpon his feblenes, and saide.

Neyther the Goddes will permit, nor men will suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the woyght of such a great Empire shoulde rest vpon his shouleris: I will not rehearse howe there bee many men more noble then hee is, and of greater woxthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may bee suffered to bee done. There is no difference whether yee make Perdiccas king, or the sonne of Roxane, whensocuer he shall bee borne: Siring Perdiccas goeth about to make himself king. That is the cause why no king can please him, but such a one as is not yet borne. And in such a haste as all we make for to haue a king (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preseruation of our estate) hee onely doth waite for the exyng of tyme and moxness: imagining that hee shoulde by ng farrth a man childe, which I thinke yee doubt not but that hee is ready to counterfeyte an exchaunge, if neede bee. If it were so in verie dede, that Alexander had appointed him to be our king: I am of opinion, that y faire thing

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only (of all things he hath commaunded) ought not to be performed and kept. Why do not you runne therfore to i poile the treasure, seeing that the people ought to en herite it?

When he had spoken those wordes, he brake through the prease of armed men: and they y gaue him way, followed him to the spoile, wher of he had made mention. The greedinesse of the treasure caused a great bande of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the assembly began to fall to disorder & sedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a meane souldier, (whom very few did know) had not stapt forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What neede we (quoth hee) to fall to force or cyuill warre, seeing we haue a king already, which you seeke to finde? The same is Arideus Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our king, borne & broght vp in the same religion & ceremonies that wee doe vse: who being the onely heire, I marueile by what deseruing of his he is overslipped, and what he hath don why he should not enjoy his right, descended to him by the vniversall lawe of the world? If you seeke one to bee comparable to Alexander, you shall never finde him. If you will haue such one as shall approach nerte unto him, this is onely he.

When these words were heard amongst the multitude, they kept silence at the first, as if they had bene commaunded by authoritie: but after wards they cried with one voice, that Arideus should be called, and that they were worthie of death, which made any assembly without him. Then Python all besprinkled with teares, began to speake.

Nowe I perceiue (quoth he) Alexanders case to be most

most miserable, seeing he is defrauded of the fruite, that such as were his souliers and subiectes should bring forth at such time as this is. If you haing respecte onely to the name and memorie of your king, be viterly blind in the rest of things.

His wordes tenred directly to the represe of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whom they were meant. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therfore declared by an obstinate erie, that they would not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possiblitie: and still called for Arideus to come forth amongst them. Whereupon Meleager (for the malice and envy he bare vnto Perdiccas) tooke an occasion boldlie to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. This was the voice of the people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Python tooke vpon him to put Perdiccas deince in execution, and appointed Perdiccas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to bee gouernours of the sonne which should be borne of Roxane: adding moreover, that Craterus and Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: And vpon this they sware the souldiers to be obedient vnto Alexanders issue. Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him, departed with such as were of his facton: but he returned immedietly againe, bring

ging Philip with him into the Court, and cryed out to the multitude for the assyning of the common wealth, in ayding of the newe king, whome a litle before they had elected: and wylled them to make an experiment of his activitie perswading them that hee was the meest to rule over them, beeing the issue of Philip, that had both a king to his father, and a king to his brother. There is no profound sea so stormie nor tempestuous, that raiseth vp so many scourges and waues, as a multitude doth motions & alterations, when they haue gotten the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue.

There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas: but more agreed to make Philip king. They could neyther agree nor disagre to any thing long time togither: one whyle repenting them of that they had determined, and streight waies foorthought them of that repentence. Yet finally, they were inclined to preferre the kings bloud. Arideus was put in such feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather silent, then decaid towards him: So that at length he was called againe, and his brothers vesture regall, which lay in the Chaire, put vpon him. And Meleager put on his armur, following as a defence to the person of the newe king. The souldyers of the foteband clashed their speares to their Targettes, threatening to shadde their bloud

bloud, which would couet the kingdom that pertained not to them. They rejoiced that the force of the Empire should not be disperkled, but still continue in the same family: the right of whose inheritance, comming of the bloud royall, they shewed themselves ready alwaies to defend. For by reason they were accustomed to haue y name of their king in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy for it, but such one as came thereunto by descent of bloud. Perdicas therfore was afraid, & with vi. C. men that wer of an approued manhood, tooke vpon him to defende the place where as the body of Alexander lay. Ioholomeus toynd himselfe vnto him also, and the bande of the yong gentlemen that were about the kings person. But so many thousands of armed men as were vpon the other side, dyd easily breake in vpon them: Amongst whom y king was present with a great band of the gard about his person: wherof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therefore in a great fury, called such to his part as would defend Alexanders bdy: but many of them were sore hurte with darteres that were throwne from the contrary side. At length the auncient men plucked of their head pieces, (the better to be knowne) and desired them that were with Perdicas to abstain from ciuil war, and give place to the king, and to the greater parte. Whereupon Perdicas was the first that laide downe his weapon, and the rest did in like maner.

Dient soz such menne as the Macedons be, nor yet doth serue the necessarie of the tyme. There is a sonne which Alexander be got by Barsynes: what shold iette, why the Dyadem may not be ict on his head?

Searching tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the souloiers according to their custom clashed their speares against their targets and continued making of a noise. And when hee would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, y matter had almost breed a sedition, which thing perceiued by Ptholomeus, he spake after this maner.

Neither the sonne of Roxane, nor Barsynes, is an is- sue meete to raigne over the Macedons: whose names we shold be ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers beeing captiues. Hauie we subdued the Persians to that ende, to become subiect to such as be descended of them. That was the thing that Darius and Xerxes, beeing kinges of Persia, wrought to in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many haunes. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexander's chayre of estate be set in the myddest of his Court, and that all such as were went to bee of counsayle with him, shall assemble together, so often as anie matter reiquyeth to bee consulted vpon: And that the Capitaines and Rulers of the army shall bee obedient to that orde, wherunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholomeus, but few with Perdiccas. Then Aritonus spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demaunded, to whome hee would leue his kyngdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Who iudged he worthiest but Perdiccas, to whom he deliuered his King. This was not done at such tyme as hee was alone: but when all his frendes were present, he did cast his eyes amongst them, and

At length chose out one, to whome he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kyngdome be committed to Perdiccas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assembly cried to Perdiccas that he shoulde come forth amongst them, and take vp the kings sig- net. But hee stayed betwene ambition & shame- fassnes, thinking that the more modellie he vsed in getting the thing he coueted, they woulde bee so much the more earnest to proffer it unto him. When hee had stode a god while at a stay doubting what to doe, at length he drewe backe, and stode behynde them that late nerke vnto hym. When Meleager that was one of the Capitaines, sawe the stay that Perdiccas made, he tooke courage vpon his feblenes, and saide.

Whether the Goddes will permit, nor men will suffer, that Alexander's estate, and the weyght of such a great Empire should rest vpon his shouulders: I will not rehearse howe there bee many men more noble then hee is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing my bee suffered to bee done. There is no difference whether yee make Perdiccas kyng, or the sonne of Roxane, whensocuer he shall bee borne: Seeing Perdiccas goeth about to make himself kyng. That is the cause why no kyng can please him, but such a one as is not yet borne. And in such a haste as all we make for to haue a kyng (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preseruation of our estate) hee onely doth waite for the expyring of tyme and mo- neths: imagining that hee shalbe bring forth a man childe, which I thinke yee doubt not but that hee is ready to counterfeit an exchange, if neede bee. If it were so in verie daede, that Alexander had appoynted him to be our kyng: I am of opinion, that y^e same thing
is true.

only

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When he had spoken those wordes, he brake through the prease of armed men: and they y gaue him way, followed him to the spoile, wher of he had made mention. The grædinesse of the treasure caused a great bande of armed men to flocke about Meleager, and the assembly began to fall to disorder & sedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a meane souldier, (whom very few did know) had not kept forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What neede we (quoth hee) to fall to force or cyuill warre, seeing we haue a king already, which you seeke to finde? The same is Arideus Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our king, borne & broght vp in the same religion & ceremonics that wee doe vse: who being the onely heire, I marueile by what deseruing of his he is overslipped, and what he hath don why he should not enjoy his right, descended to him by the vniuersall lawe of the world? If you seeke one to bee comparable to Alexander, you shall never finde him. If you will haue such one as shall approch nerte unto him, this is onely he.

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His wordes tended directly to the represe of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whom they were meant. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therfore declared by an obstituate erie, that they would not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie: and still called so; Arideus to come forth amongst them. Whereupon Meleager (for the malice and envy he bare vnto Perdiccas) tooke an occasion boldlie to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. This was the voice of the people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Python tooke vpon him to put Perdiccas deince in execusion, and appointed Perdiccas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to bee gouernours of the sonne which should be borne of Roxane: ad- ding moreover, that Craterus and Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: And vpon this they sware the souldiers to be obedient vnto Alexanders issue. Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him, departed with such as were of his factiōn: but he returned immedietly againe, bring-

ging Philip with him into the Court, and cryed out to the multitude for the assyning of the common wealth, in ayding of the newe king, whome a litle before they had elected: and wylled them to make an experiment of his activitie perswading them that hee was the meest to rule over them, beeing the issue of Philip, that had both a king to his father, and a king to his brother. There is no profound sea so stormie nor tempestuous, that raiseth vp so many scourges and waues, as a multitude doth motions & alterations, when they haue gotten the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue.

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Heleager then persuaded them that they shold not departe, but remaine still about the deade corpes: but he iudging that to bee a deceite, and meane to entrappe him, fledde to a place on the further side of Euphrates lying ouer against the court. Then the horsemen, which consulted chieflie of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, and Leonatus, whose opinion was to departe out of the Citie, and take the fields: But because Perdicas was not without hope, that the footmen would haue taken his parte, hee remained styll within the Citie, least he might seeme to bee the cause that the horsemen shold deuide themselves from the rest of the army. Heleager ceased not to beate in the kinges heade, that he could not establish himselfe surely in his estate, otherwise then by the death of Perdicas: whose ambitious minde, desirous of innovation, was (he said) to be prevented in time. He willed the king to remember what Perdicas had deserued at hys handes, and that no man could be faithfull unto him whome he feared. The king suffering the thing, rather then giving his consent to the matter, Heleager tooke his silence for commaundement, and sent for Perdicas in the kings name: and they which were seate, had commission to kill him, if he made any sticking to come wyth them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accompanied onely with sixtene yong gentlemen (accustomed to attende vpon Alexanders person) did meet them euen as they wold haue entred into

into his lodging, and calling them Heleagers slaves, rebuked them with such a constancie of mind and countenance, that they returned back againe as men amazed. Perdicas willed such as were in his company to leape on horsbacke: and with a fewe of his frendes repayred vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were mocued against him to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged, and dyd thinke it a matter unsitting, y Perdicas shoulde be brought in daunger of death after such a sort: and therefore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Heleagers doings. But he vnder standing of the mutinie that was amongst the souldiers, gaue place: and they repayred to the king, demaunding of him if he had commanded Perdicas to be taken. He immedately confessed the thing: but it was done (he saide) by Heleagers motion, which he declared to bee no cause for them to make any stirre, seeing that Perdicas was aliue. The assembly hereupon brake vp and Heleager became greatly afraide, specially so astonted by the parting of the horsemen, that he wylst not what to do: for he saw the mischief (which hee a little before had wrought against his enemie) like to light vpon himselfe. And whilste he deuised this & that, three daies were consumed and spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the Court, did remaine in the meane season. For the Embassadors of many Nations made repayre vnto the king: The Capitains of

the army did assemble about him, and the garde wayted in armour, as they were accustomed. But the great sadness that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreme dyspayze. There was such a suspition amoungst the selues, that men durst not company togither, nor speake one to another, but stode imagining secretly with themselves : and by comparing y^e time present with the time past, and the newe king with the old, they began to desire him that was gone. Then one enquired of another, wher he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had followed: Then they found themselves abandoned amongst so many wylde Nations, which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be revenged of the injuries they had received. Whilest they were troubled in these imaginations, word was brought that the horsmen (which were vnder Verdicas) kept the fieldes about Babylon, and staid all victuals comming to the Citie. Therupon first began a scarcifie, and afterwards a famine. Therfore such as were within the Citie, thought good eyther to make a reconciliation with Verdicas, or els to fight out the matter. It chaunced that such as went abroad in the countrey, fearing y^e spoile of the villages, repaired into the citie. And they within the Citie, for lacke of victualles departed into the countrey. So that euerie one did think themselves surer any where, then in their owne habitations.

Then

Then the Macedons doubting some great inconuenience that might come of this feare, assembled togither in the Court, & shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed amongst them that Embassadours should be sent to the horsmen, for the surceasing of all strife & division. Nasus a Thessalian, Amias a Megapolitan, and Perelans, were sent from the king: who declaring theyr commission, received answer that the horsmen would not leue their power, till the autho^rs of the sedition were delivered into their handes. Wherupon they were returned, and their aunswere knowne, the soldierns without any appoinmet put on their armour, and made such a tumult, that the king was enforced to come forth of the Court, and say vnto them.

If wee shall bee at strife amongst our selves, our enemies that bee quiet, shall enjoy the frut of our contention. Remember that the quarell is with your own countrey men, with whom if ye ralby breake the hope of reconcilment, y^e shall bee the beginnars of a ciuil warre: Let vs proue if the matter may be mittigated by an other Embassage. I am of opinion, that so farre much as Alexanders body remayneth yet unburyed, they will gladly come togither to perorme the due buryn to the dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrender vp againe this dignitie, then any bloud should bee shed amongst my countrey men. For if no hope of concilieation remaine, I desyre and pray you to make a better chiose.

And with that word he wept, and pulling the Diadem from his head, and holding the same forth with his hande, ready to haue delivered it to any man that would haue claimed to be n^e o^r e

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worthy then he. The moderation that he vsed both in his words, and his behauour, caused the all to cenceive a great god hope of his noble nature, which till that time, was obscured by hys brothers fame. They therefore required and encouraged him to go forwardes in the matter, as he had devised. Whereupon he sent againe for Embassadores the same men that went before: which had commission to require, that Meleager might be the third ruler of the men of war. That matter was not much sticked at: for Perdiccas was desirous to remoue Meleager from the king, and thought that hee alone shold not be able to match with Leonatus and him.

Upon this Meleager marched out of the Cittie with the footemen: and Perdiccas met him in the fields, riding before the bands of the horsemen. There both battails saluting one another, concorde, peace, and amitie, was confirmed betwixt them so euer (as it was thought.) But it was decreed by destinie, that civill warres should rise amongst the Macedons. For government is vnpacient of partners, & the kingdome was coueted by many. Which as it first grewe in force, so afterwards it was dispersed againe. For when the bodie was burdened with moxe heades then it could beare, the other members began to fayle. So the Empire of the Macedons which vnder one heade might well haue stode, byen it was deuided into partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the people of Rome justly must confess

of Quintus Curtius.

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confesse themselves bounde vnto theyr Prince, for the felicitie they haue founde: whiche as a Starre in the night appeared then to them, that were neere lost: And as the sun gaue light to the world being in darknes, when without such a head the members that were at variance, must needs haue quailed: How many firebrands did he quench: how many swords ready drayne did he put vp again: how great a tempest did he pacifie with the sodeine calme: The Empire now doth ware greene and florishing: Let me desyre without envy, that his house may continue many ages, & his posteritie remaine for euenmore. But to returne againe to the order of the historie, from whence I was brought to the contemplation of our vniuersall felicitie: Perdiccas iudged the onely hope of his owne safegard, to consist in the death of Meleager: thinking it necessary to preuent him beeing a man both varia-ble, vnfayfull, given to innuation, and besides his mortall enemie. But with deepe dissimulati-
on he kept his purpose secrete, to the intent that with lesse difficultie, he might oppresse him un-awares. He did subornate therefore priuily cer-
taine of the bandes vnder his rule, to complain-
ingly (as though it were without his knowl-
edge) that Meleager shoulde be made equall w-
him in authoritie: which words of the souldiers
when they were reported to Meleager, he be-
came in a great rage, & declared theyr sayings
to Perdiccas: who seemed to wonder at þat,

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ter, blaming theyr doing, as though he had beene
sorrie for the thing: & finally they agreed, that y
authors of such leuisious words should be taken.
When Meleager perceiued Perdiccas so confor-
mable, he embrased him, and gaue him thankes
for his fidelite and beneuolence. There by a co-
sultation had bewirkt them both, they deuyled
horne to destroy such as woulght this division
betweene them. For the bringing of that to passe
they agreed, y the army shoulde be purged accor-
ding to their countrey custome. To the dooing
whereof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasi-
on, by reason of the late discord amongst them.
The kings of Maceido in purifying of their soul-
diers, were wont to vse a kind of ceremonie, di-
viding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to
cast the same into the uttermost boundes of the
field, wheron they purposed to muster the ar-
my. There the men of warre accustome to stand
armed: both the horsemen, the mercenary sou-
diers, and the Phalanx, euery one aparte. The
same day that this ceremonie was put in execu-
tion, the king stode in order of battaile with the
horsemen & the Elephants against the footmen,
of whome Meleager had the rule. When the
troupes of horsemen began to moue, the footmen
were striken sodeinly with feare: and by reason
of the late discord, conceiued a suspition that the
horsemen meant them no good. Wherefore they
stode a while in a doubt, whether they shoulde
retyre into the Citie, or no, by reason that the
fielde

fielde serued best for the horsemen. But least
without cause they might condemne the fidel-
tie of their companions, stood still with a deter-
minate minde to fight if any proffered them vye-
ulence. When the battailes were almost met tog-
ither, onely a smal distance left betwixt them,
(wherby the one part was deuided from the o-
ther) the king by the procuration of Perdiccas,
w a band of horsemen did ride along the footmen
requyring the deliuery of such to be executed, as
were the authors of the discord: whom in verie
deede, though hee ought to haue defended: yet if
they refused their deliuery, he threatened to bring
against them both the horsemen and the Cle-
phants. The footmen were amazed with the so-
deinnes of the mischiefe, which they looked not
for: & there was no more counsayle nor courage
in Meleager, then in the reste: but they all iud-
ged it most expedient for them, rather to abide y
aduenture of that request, thē further to hazard
fortune. When Perdiccas sawe them astonied &
in feare, he seuered out to the number of 300, of
such as followed Meleager, when he brake out
of the assembly, that was first made after Alex-
anders death: which in the sight of all the ar-
my were cast to the Elephants, and there fram-
pled to death with their feete, of which matter,
Philip was neither the authour, nor the forbid-
der: but thought to claime that for his owne do-
ing, which shoulde appere best in the ende. This
was a signification and beginning unto the Ma-

cessions of ciuill warres that ensued. Meleager understanding ouer late the sleight of that deuynse, because there was no violence offered vnto his person, stode at the first quietly within p. square : but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destruicō, the name of him whō he had made king, he dispeired of his owne safegarde, and fled into a temple. But the religiōn of the place could not so defend him, but that he was there slain. Perdicas hereupon brought againe the army into the Citie : and calling a councell of all the principall personages, it was agreed so to deuide the Empire , that the king shoulde remaine as chiefe of the whole : Ptholomeus to be lieutenant in Egypt and Affricke, and to haue the rule of the Nations there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion . Siria & Phenices were appointed to Laomedon, Cilia to Philotas. Licia, with Pamphilia, and the greater Phrigia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Cidia. The lesser Phrigia, that ioyned vnto Hellespont, was Leonatus prouince. Epheunes had Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, who was commaundered to defende that countrey so far as Trapezunt, and make war to Ariaraches, who onely remained enemy to the Empire. Medea was appointed to Pythog, and Thrace to Lissmachus, with other Nations therabouts, bordering vpon the Sea of Ponte. It was ordained also that such as shoulde bee presidents amongst the

The Indians, Bactrians, Scordians, and other Nations lying vpon the Ocean and red Seas, shoulde in matter of iustice vze regall iurisdiction. It was agreed that Perdi cas shoulde remain with the king, and haue the gvernaunce of the men of warre that followed him. Some beleue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexander's testament : but we haue found the same to be false, though some autho. doe witnesse the same. The Empyre beeing deuided into partes, euerie one might well haue defended his portion, if any bounds could conteine mens immoderate desires : or if they being but ministers vnto a king, when vnder the colour of the administration of an others dominion they had encroched into so great kingdomes, could haue avyded the occasions of warre, seeing they were all of one Nation, and had their countreys appoynted out by limits. But it is hard for men to bee contented with that they haue in their possesſion, when occasion is proffered them of more. For y^e first thinges alwaies arpeere of no value, when men be in hope of greater thinges to come. So y^e euerie one of them thought it an easier matter to increase his kingdome, then it was to get it at the first. Alexanders bodie in the meane season lay seuen dayes vnburyed : for whilſt euerie man had care vpon the establishing of the state, their minds were drawne from the doing of that solempne office. There is no Countrey more feruent of heatē then Mesopotamia. For L. Lly.

The sun there burneth so hot, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, & burneth vp all things as it were with fire. And to the increase thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabitants vse such pollicie in hiding those they haue, that straungers can haue no vse of them. This notwithstanding, when Alexander's frends had gottē leysure to take care of the dead corps, and came to visite the same, they found it without infection, corruption, or chaunge of colour: y same cheeresfulnes which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenaunce. Then the Egyprians & the Caldeis were commaunded to dresse his body after their maner: who at the first (as though he had beeне alive) feared to put their hāds to him. But afterwards making their praiers that it might bee lawfull for mortall men to touch him, they purged hys bodie, and filled it with swete odors: And after wards laid him vpon a hearse of gold, & set a dyademē vpō his head. Many thought that he died of poysen, & that Jolla, Antipater's sonne, beeing one of his ministers, had giuen him the same. Alexander oftentimes would say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a king, affecting more greatness then pertained to a lieuetenant, & that through glorie of the victorie he had gotten of y Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things committed to him as his own. It is thought also that Craterus was sente to kill him, with those old scouldiers that were dismissed

missed. It is certeine that there is a poysen in Macedon, founde in a water called Sulstiges, of such force, that it consumeth iron, & wil not be contained in any thing, sauing in the hōfe of a horse or mule: which poysen was brought by Cassander, & deliuered to his brother Jolla, who presented it in the drinke y the king last dronke. Howsoever these thirgs be reported, the power of them on whom the rumour went, shortly after oppressed y infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & Grēce, and his childrē after him: which put to death all such as were any thing neere of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) conueied Alexander's body to Memphis, which within fewe yéeres after was remoued to Alexandria, whereas all honour is giuen to the memory of him, and to hys name.

FINIS.